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ABSTRACT

Articles treating various aspects of the teaching of Hispanic culture at the secondary and junior high school levels are intended to improve methodology and facilitate the development of teacher-made instructional materials. An overview of the field relating problems and procedures in several areas is developed. Selections cover: (1) bilinguality, concept formation, and language development; (2) foreign language for preschool children; (3) a cultural framework for teaching Spanish to children; (4) direct classroom teaching of cultural concepts; (5) teaching culture through comic strip; (6) use of the folksong; (7) Latin America studies programs for Spanish-speaking Americans; (8) Spanish dialectology; (9) a North American view of a congress on adult education held in Caracas, Venezuela; (10) the "yanqui" image in Asturias' "banana trilogy"; (11) Argentina as a Latin enigma; (12) ways to develop more positive attitudes toward native speakers of Spanish; (13) psychological theory of language learning; (14) three "levels" of competence for Spanish classes; and (15) testing understanding of the foreign culture. (RL)

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Perspectives for Teachers of Latin American Culture

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edited by
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FOREWORD

The year 2000 is just three short decades away. In an age of almost frightening revolutionary change, a new era is emerging. We hope it will be a new dawn for mankind; therefore we are faced with the task of giving a sense of purpose to our students by preparing the best qualified teachers and developing the most meaningful curricula.

Our efforts in the realm of human understanding will be futile if we are unable to instill in students an empathy for the differences in people, not only in the United States, but in other cultures as well. It is extremely important that we understand the reasons for human behavior that is different from our own, even though we do not choose to adopt that behavior. As we strive to appreciate the differences in people, we must stress the ways they are similar.

Foreign language supervisors in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction are seeking to broaden the goals of foreign language instruction in the schools of Illinois. The inclusion of culture in the classroom will motivate students in their study of French, Spanish, German, and other languages, and help them develop a better understanding of the world community in which they live.

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PERSPECTIVES FOR TEACHERS OF LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE

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1

INTRODUCTION

H.Ned Seelye

The culture of Spain and Latin America is so intrinsically interesting that teachers have always used it in their classes to perk up sagging motivation and to rekindle in their students the resolve to stick with the "grammar" long enough to communicate (in splintered Spanish) with a native speaker of the language. Besides using cultural anecdotes as spice sprinkled about in an otherwise arid course, teachers have long wanted their students to develop a broad understanding of many aspects of the daily lives of Spanish-speaking people. Unfortunately, it has not been easy for teachers trained in the humanities to adapt concepts from the social sciences in any systematic way. While teachers have often succeeded in getting students to regard with sympathetic interest a native speaker of Spanish, they have often failed in the complementary objective of getting students to see the interrelatedness of Hispanic cultural patterns.

Students, upon completion of their Spanish courses, have usually lacked an awareness of the unique but functional way things fit together and reinforce each other in Spain and Latin America. Too often, the student has come to regard isolated cultural patterns as quaint and exotic, rather than appreciate the fact that they are useful tools to satisfy physical and psychological needs within Hispanic life. For students to develop this view of culture as an interwoven tapestry requires special effort by the teacher, for many things contribute to Hispanic culture.

The present publication is designed to provide "life" to ideas of some members of the profession who can contribute expertise to the neglected area of how to teach the culture. Unlike other areas of language instruction, there has never been a ready forum available for articles about the target culture. The professional media have published literally tons of articles of literary and linguistic analyses, but only occasional articles treating culture. Before the major problems inherent in teaching cultural concepts in a foreign language classroom can be solved, ideas must be exchanged and tried in various types of classrooms by different teachers. Few current techniques for teaching culture can be said to have withstood the test of time, simply because lack of communication has inhibited professional feedback. We can't think about and try out ideas with which we are not familiar. This publication hopes to present teachers with ideas with which they might profitably interact.

The first published effort of this office to stimulate the teaching of culture by teachers of Spanish was enthusiastically received. Requests for A Handbook on Latin America for Teachers (1968) have poured in from all over the country. While any effort in this area must necessarily be fragmentary, or at best transitionary, critics of the Handbook have been kind (see, for example, the book review in the May 1970 issue of The Modern Language Journal). The present publication is an outgrowth of the former, and perhaps gains strength if viewed as part of a continuing effort to stimulate exciting and effective teaching about the people who speak the language we study. This office is currently preparing, under the editorship of Pat Castle and Charles Jay, a handbook on the teaching of French culture.

Bilinguality (Chapter 2) affords rich soil to till for educators, linguists, psychologists, and sociologists. In the past, many studies have concentrated on children who suffered the stigma of low socioeconomic status coupled with the plight of minority-group discrimination. Unfortunately, the investigators did not always control the variables very effectively and a misplaced negativism often became associated with bilinguality. Bilingual children, it was argued, did not do as well in school as monolingual kids. Bilinguality seemed to correlate with psychological problems. Children in these circumstances too often discovered that admiting fluency in the "minority" language was tantamount to inviting discrimination. Fortunately, prompted by more sophisticated studies of bilinguality, the esteem the bilingual child now receives reflects more properly his achievement. Mrs. Jean Miller adds to the literature on bilinguality by describing an educational experiment involving some children in Guatemala who were taught concepts in both English and Spanish from the ages of two-and-a-half to five. Mrs. Miller, who has a wealth of experience as teacher, principal, and consultant in primary education, is heartened by the results as seen at the end of the first year of the experiment. Another experiment, patterned after the Guatemalan model, has since been initiated in Columbia. Mrs. Miller lives with her husband, former director of curriculum of the American School of Guatemala, in a home on the outskirts of Guatemala City that she and her husband have built themselves. One of their sons is presently an assistant principal of the American School of Guatemala, and another son has published a text on the teaching of English to speakers of Japanese. Mrs. Miller collaborated with Dr. Marquardt (who also authored an article in the present collection) on a recent series designed to teach English as a second language, published commercially

Chapter 3 was prepared by Mrs. McClaran, the very successful director of the Methodist PreSchool in LaGrange, Illinois. Mrs. McClaran, who learned her Spanish while residing in Argentina, uses the Spanish language to broaden the awareness her three-to-five-year-olds have of children in other countries. Her nursery school children are taught that there are many ways to express oneself, and they are encouraged to identify with children of Latin America and other lands. It is at this preschool age where the understanding that there are many ways to say things helps liberate the child from the tiny world of the English-speaking home. Once the child becomes more sophisticated, a knowledge of foreign languages alone cannot be counted on to effect this liberation.

Mrs. Dorothy Bishop, director of a large program of Spanish for fifth through eighth graders in DesPlaines, Illinois, expertly indicates (in Chapter 4) how a language class can develop sympathetic understanding of a peer culture. Mrs. Bishop's liberal inclusion of examples, and the annotated bibliography of materials appropriate for this age level, are especially helpful to the FLES teacher.

Mrs. Bishop is author of a series for teaching Spanish to children, published commercially. Raised in China by missionary parents, (she still converses occasionally in Chinese, "just for kicks," with her sister, Mrs. Ruth Tinzmann--who also has an article in this publication), Mrs. Bishop feels especially close to Costa Rica where she has resided extensively.

Dr. James Taylor, director of the Language Training Mission (Latin America) of Brigham Young University, discusses many classroom techniques for teaching cultural concepts. Taylor calls the three main approaches to teaching culture, "out-of-class activities," "indirect classroom teaching," and "direct classroom teaching." After briefly describing the first two approaches, Taylor goes on to develop a number of techniques useful to the teacher who wants to teach cultural concepts directly in the classroom. Cultural asides, slices of life, culture capsules, question-directed discussion, the inquiry method, role playing, and group solving of situational problems are all discussed and exemplified. Dr. Taylor has resided and traveled extensively in Latin America.

Many readers will be familiar with the delightful "Condorito," a Chilean comic strip character who has been wickedly aiding American students learn Spanish through the excellent materials developed by Dr. Wendall Hall, presently professor of Spanish at Brigham Young University. For the present publication, Dr. Hall has joined forces with the famous Chilean novelist Enrique Lafourcade. The result (Chapter 6) is a sprightly written brief arguing the advantages to be gained from using cartoons and comic books as a teaching device. (The Condorito materials were reviewed in A Handbook on Latin America for Teachers, page 49.)

Chapter 7 was prepared by Father Juaire who is currently teaching Spanish in Quincy College, Quincy, Illinois. Father Juaire illustrates the possibilities offered by folksongs by developing in detail teaching units based on "Guantanamera," "La cucaracha," and the immortal Argentine tango "Adios muchachos." These songs are cultivated for poetic, philosophic, linguistic, and sociological insights.

It has been estimated that five million children in the United States do not speak enough English to profit much from our present school structure. Depending on the locale, these children are typically of Mexican, Puerto Rican, or Cuban ancestry, and many of them suffer the blighting influence of economic and social discrimination. Some of the children speak Spanish very well, others haltingly. Spanish teachers have not, unfortunately, always been sympathetic to the needs of these children. Teachers have often caused students embarrassment by belittling the relatively minor differences between the dialects of the students and the dialect of the teacher (especially when the students use the familiar form to address the teacher). Mr. Guillermo De Hoogh, formerly of Mexico City, and his colleague, Mr. James McClafferty, former director of the Foreign Language Innovative Curricula Studies (FLIC) of Ann Arbor, Michigan, report on materials they have developed for Spanish-speaking Americans. That there was more interest among the polled teachers in a history-based curriculum than for a thematically oriented one reflects the rather traditional training most teachers have received in college. Then, too, teachers whose students come mostly from Mexico or Puerto Rico naturally opt for an indepth study of the country with which most of their students closely identify. There is a danger here, however. While it is highly desirable for a student to learn to take pride in his background, it would be a mistake to turn the teaching of Spanish into an ethnic activity in a way that would fail to interest students of other backgrounds. While interest in the homeland sustains some students, a tie thus predicated with the academic discipline is bound to weaken over time. If a teacher has largely Puerto Rican students, he should draw heavily from Puerto Rico for examples to illustrate cultural concepts, but this initial interest in Puerto Rico should be broadened to other areas of Latin America as well. The study of culture is of interest to us all, whatever language our parents speak at home. This does not detract from the necessity of developing as De Hoogh and McClafferty have admirably done, materials especially designed to meet the educational needs of Spanish-speaking students. It merely serves as a reminder that one of the requisites of sound academic materials is that their interest not be limited by provincialism (as many texts our Anglo children use are so limited).

Dr. John Brunetti, a Foreign Language Consultant with the Chicago Board of Education, presents (in Chapter 9) a strong case in favor of more sense when it comes to making value judgments of dialects other than our own. More attention to matters of Latin American dialectology in our classes may do much to sensitize students to the realities of speech.

To see ourselves as others see us is enlightening; it is not always pleasant, but it is nonetheless instructive. There are a number of sources which contain written accounts of people of one culture interacting with those of another.

Chapters 10 and 11 represent two such sources. Dr. William Marquardt, a renown linguist and specialist in the teaching of English as a second language, presents (in Chapter 10) one American's reaction to a professional conference in South America. Cross cultural differences become clearer in such accounts. Marquardt has advocated in the past the systematic study of documents where Americans describe their reactions to the target culture, and vice versa. Chapter 10 expands the number of documents presently available. In Chapter 11, the editor analyses a complementary source of cultural reaction--a Latin American novelist's portrayal of North Americans. The Guatemalan Nobel prizewinner in literature, Miguel Angel Asturias, develops his American characters in three polemic anti-United Fruit Company novels. Surprisingly, however, there is some ambivalence in their portrayal. Revulsion and hate seem combined with awe and sympathy in some of the characters. The result is worth pondering.

Dr. Joseph Martellaro, an economist who is associate dean of the Graduate School of Northern Illinois University, clarifies (in Chapter 12) many of the social and political factors which interact with economic considerations in modern Argentina. Martellaro's willingness to approach problems in contemporary Latin America from an interdisciplinary stance is especially noteworthy.

Dr. Madeline Cooke, who currently teaches at the University of Akron, presents (in Chapter 13) a well researched essay of how attitudes can be developed by teachers. Cooke discusses values, social class, cultural differences with Latin America, the family, prejudice, personality theory, role playing, etc. in this provocative chapter. Many very practical suggestions which can be implemented in the classroom are detailed.

Certainly one highly important requisite to understanding another culture is a knowledge of its language. Chapters 14 and 15 both treat this area through different approaches. Professor Ruth Tinzmann, a psychology teacher at North Park College in Chicago, discusses (in Chapter 14) the maturational and emotional factors which are associated with audiolingual skills in FLES children. In Chapter 15, three Foreign Language Supervisors working for the Illinois Office of Public Instruction--Mrs. Pat Castle, Charles Jay, and Derald Merriman--report on a conference designed to aid articulation from one language level to another. Specific suggestions concerning what each "level" should cover were forthcoming.

Finally, the last chapter (Chapter 16) fittingly addresses itself to the crucial area of testing cultural understanding. We kid ourselves if we profess to be teaching culture but then do not attempt to measure our successes. Dr. and Mrs. Howard Nostrand provide the reader with a useful taxonomy of the different areas of culture. Illustrative test items for each category of culture help clarify the different purposes which cultural objectives can satisfy. The Nostrands teach at the University of Washington in Seattle, and are among the profession's most productive scholars. Howard Lee Nostrand has been for years the country's leading expert on the teaching of culture in language classes.

2

AN EXPERIMENT IN BILINGUALITY, CONCEPT FORMATION AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Jean B.Miller

Bilinguality

It has been noted that in homes where two languages are spoken to children who are developing basic concepts that there is usually no problem in the children using both languages to express themselves. This may not be evident until the age of five or six or even later, and they may have a preference for one language then, a dominant language.

Some educators in Guatemala wondered what would happen to children's conceptual development if from the ages of two-and-a-half to five they were exposed to a structured program of concept development using two languages, Spanish and English. In developing this experimental program the nature and characteristics of young children were taken into account, the nature of concepts and their formation, and the role of language in concept development, as were the types of sensory-motor experiences needed to develop concepts and language.

When children begin to speak in their native language they are verbalizing about discoveries they are making regarding their surroundings. They do this because of their growing need to communicate about these things with other people. As they learn concepts they learn language to accompany it.

What is a concept?

A concept, according to the dictionary, is a mental image of a thing formed by generalization from particulars. It is an idea of what a thing in general should be.

The spatial concept of "up," for instance, is "away from the center of the earth." Sometimes adults toss children up into the air and say, "Up we go!" A child wants to be carried and he learns to say "Up." He has grasped the general idea of what "up" is, but he will have many new experiences as he goes through life in which the concept of "up" as a spatial direction may denote more complicated ideas which are equally valid.

It seems safe to say that one does not arrive at complete conceptualization at a point in time where he can feel that he knows all there is to know about one idea or one thing. It is more like a continuum.

No cognition ⟶ Simple understanding for communication ⟶ Complete cognition

Therefore, our definition should emphasize that the general notion of a thing, even incompletely formed, is ours as soon as we can communicate to others about it with some sort of mutual understanding (3). We might say that when a child has learned to get what he wants from another person by saying it he has begun to conceptualize.

How are concepts formed?

In the above description it has been implied that one generalizes from numerous experiences about the idea of what a thing is like. One not only observes the thing, but he interacts with it by sensory experiences. He observes, he experiments, he forms ideas only to change them when his tentative thinking does not hold true. Sometimes he accidentally discovers a truth as he is manipulating or observing. He may then deliberately repeat an experimentation to see if this thing is really this way (10). Children may repeat activities many, many times (11).

A child pushes a toy which is suspended above his crib. It swings back and forth. Later he plays with a swing, he observes the pendulum on a clock. He holds an object on a string and watches it swing. He holds it in a small box and notices that the sides of the box restrict the full swing. So he takes the object out and it swings freely. He may accidentally bump into a hanging object which swings and hits him on the head. He begins to form notions about things that are suspended. He may learn words like "It swings," "back and forth," "up and down," etc. If a child is swinging and someone asks what he is doing he will learn to say, "I am swinging."

How are concepts used?

By interaction with the environment children gradually develop skills and concepts which enable them to solve problems and deal with the world rationally and creatively (8).

A child who has learned what bread is may ask for some to make a sandwich if he is hungry. He knows that if he desires something to drink bread will not meet his needs.

A child who wants to play with a swing but has none may find a piece of rope and tie it to a tree for a makeshift swing. Some day he may find that he can cross a turbulent stream or gorge which has no bridge by swinging across it on some vines.

What are the BASIC concepts?

Generally speaking, the ideas that people consider in ordinary daily living are the ones upon which all intellectual activity, at whatever level of sophistication, is based.

For example, a child says, "Mother and I are going shopping downtown. We will be back by 3:30 this afternoon." In this statement several basic concepts are alluded to: a. personal relationship (the speaker and another person); b. notion of space (downtown); c. notion of time (3:30).

These same concepts might be used on a more sophisticated level by an ornithologist. "The Arctic loon, smallest of the loon family, may be seen in Baja, California and Sonora in winter and spring only." In analyzing this statement it is readily seen that the basic concepts of real relationship, space and time, have been used.

Below is a minimal outline of basic concepts upon which the experimental bilingual program is based. It makes no claims to being complete. Indeed, as a beginning it was felt that it should be kept simple and uncluttered for optimum use. It is derived from a project created by the Board of Education of New York City and the Educational Testing Service called "First Grade Project in New York City Schools."

For expedience in the local situation the outline differs somewhat. It is still consistent, it is believed, with the original analysis of intellectual development as set forth by Jean Piaget and described by J. McV. Hunt on which the New York work was founded (2).

BASIC CONCEPTS FOR INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

- Classification
  - Of familiar objects
    - According to characteristics (attributes)
    - According to use
    - According to sensory stimuli
  - Of actions and events

- Relationships
  - Between people, animals, animals and people
  - Between objects
  - Between actions and events
  - Likenesses and differences
  - Opposites

- Seriation

- Cause and effect

- Time and space

- Simple mathematical concepts
  - Numerous - relationships
  - One-to-one relationship
  - Conservation of quantity

The role of language in concept development

Usually when a child has interacted with concrete objects or events he begins to get ideas about them and needs to verbalize about them. He wants to communicate his findings to another person. In order to do this he must use language. At the same time he is describing his ideas with words he is assimilating more completely the generalization concerning a general class of things or events (7).

Piaget suggests that when a young child asks "What's that?" it is not so much language that is being acquired in this process as the concept of the general class itself (7).

After numerous experiences in which language is associated with a sensory-motor activity, the child acquires a "learning set" or a generalization which has a dual significance for him: first, being able to name and interact with concrete objects and events, and second, being able to communicate about them to other people (7).

The ability to use language is an important tool for thinking. Through language an individual internalizes his conceptualizations and thus is able to control them and adapt them. "A child who cannot say 'four' cannot answer the question, 'How much is two and two?'" (1).

As a child begins to use language more competently he begins to conceive more sophisticated notions about the classification of "things," relationships of things and people, cause and effect, he develops reasoning skills, awareness and responsiveness, general knowledge and imagination. "The climb from concrete objects to abstract concepts is slow for everyone, yet through language individuals can achieve this climb, reaching a better equilibrium and organization of their inner and outer worlds" (9).

It follows, then, that while children are learning the notions of the way things are they might learn to communicate about them in two languages instead of one. This was the position taken by the experimenters. The problem of the structure and content of the program had to be considered. What, precisely, should the children be taught, and how?

The preceding list of basic concepts for intellectual development was organized and specifics added. The following basic language skills were delineated and organized according to recent linguistic practices (5). An effort was then made to fuse the two structures through a sequential program of experiences so that one would complement the other.

The sequence of language activities for developing bilingual skills is arranged so that the structure of the language is clear to the teacher and presented to the children so they can generalize regarding syntax, formation of inflectional endings, etc. Constant attention is also given the pronunciation skills including phonemic sounds, melody pattern and the rhythm of the second language.

AN OUTLINE OF LINGUISTIC SKILLS

- Listening
  - Auditory perception
  - Auditory discrimination
  - Auditory comprehension

- Speaking
  - Reproduction of sounds of language
  - Responses beyond repetition

- Pre-reading
  - Visual perception of like and unlike symbols
  - Left-to-right eye progression
  - Understanding that symbols have arbitrary meaning
  - Recognizing certain words at sight
  - Learning simple phonic cues

- Writing
  - Control of writing materials
  - Tracing models
  - Copying models
  - Writing simple responses

- Thinking with language
  - Content words
    - Names of objects, people, animals
      - Plural forms
      - Pronouns: number, case, gender
    - Names for actions
      - Tense of verbs
      - Agreement in number and case
    - Names for qualities
  - Function words
    - Determiners
    - Auxiliaries
    - Prepositions
    - Conjunctions
    - Interrogatives
    - Degree words
    - Modals
  - Syntax - order of words for meaning
  - Declarative sentence
  - Interrogative sentence
    - Position of modifiers
- Melody pattern for meaning

Activities for conceptualizing and verbalizing

What kinds of experiences and activities should be devised to stimulate conceptualization and verbalization in relation to the outlines?

In planning the activities, guide lines prescribed by the learning psychologists in what are generally accepted conditions of learning were helpful (4):

1. We learn best what is meaningful. Therefore, activities have to be planned which are within the present grasp of the student. A young child is interested in playing house or store, in playing with toys, in pretending to be grown-up. He likes to manipulate blocks and easy puzzles. He likes to play group games. He likes to imitate. Actual participation in these activities is meaningful to him and his learning is based on many of these experiences.

2. There is a transfer of learning. If a child has learned a concept in several experiences, he can then transfer that generalization to other similar problems. If he wants to move a truck loaded with blocks from a table to the floor, he may remember from previous experience that a heavy object may be rolled down a ramp easier than lifting it. If he uses a device to accomplish his objective in this way, he has transferred his knowledge to a new situation; he has solved a new problem. There is more chance that transfer will take place if the teacher sets up situations in which a child can see the possibilities.

3. We learn what we practice. This is particularly true of skills development, and since language is a skill, practice is to be considered. Obviously there should be many activities such as games, songs, stories, flannelboard stories, etc., which provide opportunity for interesting repetition and practice. Drill carried on by an enthusiastic teacher may be effective. There are occasions when drill is the most expedient way to accomplish an objective. Care should be taken that the practice is correctly done, otherwise mistakes are reinforced.

4. The learner needs to know what is expected of him. For this reason it is recommended that the student be given a good model to imitate. If he is to repeat a statement or a word, it must be clearly presented immediately before hand. If he is to make circles he should have experience drawing around a circular cut-out, then, placing his pencil in a stencil circle, get the feel of making circles, trace circles, etc., before he is expected to draw a circle alone. Even then he should have one to look at.

5. The learner should experience success. If he makes a correct response, he feels good about himself and is eager to go on to other learnings. Success builds on success. This presupposes a careful planning of sequential tasks which the learner is capable of performing in such a way that he can proceed in a positive manner, to say nothing of maintaining an atmosphere conducive to hopeful feelings (1).

6. Learning is increased by knowledge of the results. When a child has made a correct response, he should be told that it is correct. Likewise, if the response is incorrect he should be given the model and an opportunity to respond correctly and immediately.

7. Learning should be sequential and cumulative. The activities should proceed from the known to the unknown, from the simple to the complex, from the concrete to the abstract. Each activity should be planned so that no more than one element is new. The structure of the subject must be outlined clearly (6). The activities of the experimental program have been numbered sequentially so that the teachers may understand the order and they have been placed with those understandings which they are to clarify and reinforce.

When a person has accumulated skills and understandings with which to solve certain problems, it is said he has achieved a "readiness." Readiness doesn't just happen. Certain developmental experiences need to be had to arrive at a given stage of maturity or readiness for the next step. Then the student is prepared to face, identify and solve new problems.

If children are helped along the path of intellectual growth, just as they are helped to learn to eat and speak then it must be done in a sane and rational manner. By applying our knowledge about the conditions of learning it is possible to help students, making the way relatively easy and pleasant, even exciting.

* * *

To illustrate how the experimental program is functioning, a brief description of the school is given and an incident related.

The school is the Los Angeles Nursery School in Guatemala City, Central America. It is in a house designed for a home with the usual rooms for family living. There is a large living room with fireplace which serves as a "common room" where large group activities are arranged: songs, games, dramatizations, "show and tell," quiet listening. There are two bedrooms, each with a bathroom, which serve as small group headquarters and classrooms. The garage serves as activity center for the youngest group. A dining alcove off the kitchen is the office. A large front yard bordered by tropical plants makes a place for nature study and an excellent play area with place for sandpile, running, games, etc. A large front porch is utilized for quiet games, talking, playing house and examining each other's toys. A back yard is a sort of hide-away where children sometimes go "to be quiet," or "to work alone."

The offering at Los Angeles is a combination of structured learning tasks, creative activities, and free play which is supervised only to the extent that potentially dangerous activities are diverted into socially acceptable ones. About 40 children between the ages of two and a half and five attend for three hours daily. Approximately 70% of these children are native speakers of Spanish, the others of English. In some cases one or both parents speak both languages, speaking only the dominant language in the home.

The program of concept-language development is limited to formal presentation one half to one hour daily. However, since there are both Spanish and English-speaking students both languages are learned incidentally to some degree on the playground, during game and story times, lunch time and free play.

Another element which is of inestimable importance is the personality and skill of the teachers. The three of them are completely fluent in both languages, warm, pleasant people, sensitive to children's needs and sensitive to opportunities for encouraging incidental learning. A climate conducive to learning is set by them.

There is very little expensive equipment, but a considerable amount of inexpensive, homemade materials have been prepared largely from castoffs and "junk" and with certain learning tasks in mind. The children accept these quite readily and enjoy using them.

A typical lesson is recounted below to illustrate how sensory-motor experiences are related to concept and language development in both Spanish and English.

> A group of ten three-to-four-year-olds is seated on the floor in front of a flannel board with the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 placed at intervals across it. The teacher calls to a student,
>
> "*Carlos, ven acá, por favor. Mira lo que tengo en la mano. ¿Qué cosas son?*"
> Carlos replies immediately, "*Son círculos.*"
> "*¿Cuántos círculos tengo?*"
> "*Tiene tres círculos.*"
> "*Pon los 3 círculos debajo del número 3 en el franelógrafo, por favor.*"
> He does so immediately.
> "*Muchas gracias, Carlos. Te puedes sentar.*"

Now, the teacher, switching to English, says, "Tommy, come here. Look what I have in my hand. What are they?"

"They are triangles."

"How many triangles do I have?"

"You have four triangles."

"Will you put the four triangles under the numeral four on the flannel board, please?" Tommy does so.

And so on, through all five numerals with one square, two sticks, and five rectangles completing the pattern.

Then the whole group chants, first in Spanish then in English, "Un cuadro, dos palitos, tres círculos, cuatro triángulos, cinco rectángulos, one square, two sticks," etc.

"Are there more sticks than squares?"

"Yes, one more."

"How many more rectangles than triangles are there?"

All of the children understand the process and most of them can verbalize it in both languages.

* * *

Some generalizations after observing the experiment for about a year.

The youngest children, ages now about three years to four and a half years, have learned and can demonstrate their learning about spatial concepts in, on, up, down, inside, outside, first, next to, at (the table), and can verbalize about these concepts properly in new situations in their native language. Most of them will not verbalize in the second language although they respond to directions given by the teacher in that language.

They have learned "alike" and "different" in their own language and can arrange objects, pictures and abstract figures according to this classification.

They are aware of the nature of geometric shapes, can name four or five basic ones, both three-dimensional and two-dimensional, and some can see the relationship between, for example, a disc and a circle and can verbalize about it. "The circle is empty."

They understand numerousness up to five, "more than," "less than," "fewer than," "how many do I have?" and "how many are left?" Occasionally in group recitation a child will verbalize in his second language, but this is not forced. Usually the language expressions occur only with their teacher but not with strangers.

The older children, aged about four and a half to five and a half, are better able to verbalize in two languages about the same sorts of concepts mentioned for the younger children, and they can do it on a more sophisticated level.

Pre-reading experiences have turned into early reading experiences for some. Most of them can distinguish between the letters "a" and "d," for instance, and describe the visual difference. Several of them have generalized from the example "_ala_," the words "_pala_," and "_sala_."

The teachers, after seven months, began searching for small books with simple language based on simple basic concepts. Since these are extremely difficult to find, especially in Guatemala, the experimenters and teachers are creating their own. The children seem not to mind the crude presentation as long as it is profusely illustrated in color and their names are used frequently in the "stories."

Experience leads the experimenters to believe at this point that many children are ready to read by the age of five or earlier if they are properly prepared with sequential sensory, motor, intellectual and language experiences prior to the period of beginning reading. In writing, too, if they are not faced with learning to handle all the writing materials at the same time they are learning the shapes of the letters, the writing process may evolve more smoothly and easily. In this activity, especially, results of the rules, known to unknown, simple to complex, and concrete to abstract were observed.

Tests are being developed for various levels and to be administered under various circumstances. Some of the children will go on to kindergartens where standardized tests are administered. These results will also be available for examiniation.

It is hoped that a follow-up of several years will be possible to discover the relationship between early bilingual training, concept development and later school performance.

Walter Loban's cogent expression of the relationship between language and experience sums up the belief of the planners of this experiment:

"Through experience and through language we learn.

"Experience needs language to give it form.

"Language needs experience to give it content.

"Learners need to be open to experience, to live fully, and to arrange, shape and clarify their experience by expressing it in effective language. Here is the base of true education, whether in school or in life" (9).

Are our lives not more effective if we can express our thinking in two languages? And why not start early?

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3

A FOREIGN LANGUAGE FOR PRESCHOOLERS

L.C.McClaran

Children are quite cosmopolitan in their interests and attitudes. Inquire of today's child what his interests are and you won't hear mommy and daddy, home pets and toys, but instead rockets, outer space, dinosaurs and people of other lands. Modern media have made him cognizant of the existence of these things. He has many opportunities to come into contact with people and realia of foreign lands. Now that we know more about how children learn, we realize that the most favorable time to begin foreign language study is as early as possible.

A preschooler is highly motivated, anxious to know about everything that is new, and fascinated by the sounds of words. His speech organs are flexible and he is not self-conscious about imitating the foreign pronunciation. Repetition does not bore him, fortunately, as repetition is essential to modern, efficient language learning. There is no indication that learning a second language or a third or a fourth will interfere in any way with his acquiring mastery of his native tongue.

A first grader of my acquaintance in Buenos Aires was learning eight languages simultaneously. His parents spoke

Hungarian with him in the home. Each servant was hired with the understanding that he or she speak to the child only in the servant's native tongue. I was teaching him English at school. After a few weeks, he was speaking and understanding perfectly. The disadvantage of this method for the very young is that until the child gets away from home, as in preschool or school, he is likely to think everyone in the world speaks a different language. Also, one must be wealthy to provide such an environment.

What difference if the child will not be able to use the new language immediately or continue its study? The child has had a great deal of fun and his attention span has lengthened. There are indications that he will find foreign language study at a later date easier and more interesting as he has used it with confidence at the preschool level. He has also developed a positive attitude toward foreign languages and foreigners. There is considerable evidence that habits formed in learning a second language facilitate later learning of a third or fourth language.

A fringe benefit, which is by no means trivial from the standpoint of the child, is the status he acquires in the family and neighborhood from knowing a foreign language. Consider the case of Mary, a shy girl, whose older brothers and sisters all attend public school and are continually flaunting their accomplishments. Mary is looked down on because there is nothing she can do that the siblings cannot do better. Then one day Mary, naturally and without fanfare, expressed herself in Spanish. The brothers and sisters were astonished and asked Mary to repeat what she had said. She did so and even elaborated on it for their pleasure. Now, when the accomplishments of the other children are extolled, the conversation is likely to end with, "But Mary can speak Spanish!" Mary is now a person of worth and consequently has emerged with a new personality.

And then there was the case of Sharon who was hospitalized for a not too serious illness but one which required a shot. This she was resisting. The doctor made small talk trying to get her mind off the impending shot. He said, "Maybe you cannot understand me well. My English is not very good. I come from Cuba and I speak Spanish."

At this Sharon rallied and declared, "I can speak Spanish, too."

"You can? I'll bet you can't count to ten while I give you this shot!"

Thus challenged, Sharon at once launched into "Uno, dos, tres, --," the shot was successfully administered, and everyone was happy about the whole episode. The mother reported that the doctor often returned during Sharon's stay to have further conversations with her in Spanish.

These are not isolated cases. Parent conferences bring out the fact that, if nothing else about school has been reported at home, they have heard about the Spanish. In many instances, the parents are motivated to seek out textbooks and dictionaries from high school or college days and the entire family enjoys being "bilingual." Wonderful for home-school relations, too!

The teaching techniques used with the children in the school are dictated by the characteristics of this age group. There is much imitation and repetition. The child must attach meaning to the sound patterns that he hears. But at this age he does not need to fit them into his English patterns so he learns naturally, without translating. Conversations center about the child, his activities and surroundings. Soon the child will be establishing the curriculum as you will see.

The repetition patterns are established in English. Then Spanish is gradually substituted so that the conversation has meaning for the children. A typical English session might proceed in the following manner.

The children come with their teacher to the learning center for twenty minutes of "together time" with the lead teacher. When everyone is comfortably seated on the rug, she says, "Good morning, boys and girls." They answer, calling her name. Then she asks, "How are you this morning?" This is followed by, "What is the weather? Is it cold? Is it windy? Is it sunny? Is it cloudy?" The indicator on the weather chart is fixed and the calendar arranged. Someone will notice the counting board which always has seasonal objects for counting. Children enjoy counting, again and again. The period progresses with a balance between active and quiet activities the time passes quickly. Children often confide that the part of school they like best is the "learning time."

After a few days, a family of Mexican dolls is introduced -- mamacita, papacito, Elena, and Carlitos. Their clothing is admired, we talk about where Mexico is, some may even have been there. At least, the following day will bring forth a collection of realia brought back by traveling friends and relatives.

Do you think Elena and Carlitos speak the same language you do? You are right, they do not. They speak Spanish, so if we want to speak to them, we shall have to learn their language."

The children enter into this play wholeheartedly. They are familiar with puppets, and the fact that the teacher speaks for the dolls detracts not at all from the fun.

The next day the teacher says "Buenos días" to each doll and each replies "Buenos días, señora". She then inquires about the weather and a doll replies accompanying the words, where possible, with an appropriate gesture. The children must have many opportunities to hear and understand before they speak. It is easy to know when they are ready. A child will greet the teacher at the door with "Buenos días, señora" and a big grin! They also insist on greeting each member of the doll family. The teacher may now ask the children about the weather in Spanish.

A routine is established. New speech patterns are introducted by the dolls and teacher talking together, then the dolls talk to the children, and lastly, the teacher may speak directly to the children.

"Let's let Carlitos count on the counting board," the children say. "Now Elena, Mamacita, Papacito." Soon children are counting along, too, and the next time they ask for a doll to count, the doll turns to them and says, "Vamos a contar en español. Listos?" The children giggle delightedly and answer, "Si, listos." Children are encouraged to reply both in chorus and individually.

From here on the children progress at an amazing pace. It would seem that, since the activities are informal and the children often suggest the curriculum, learning is left to chance, but actually it is very well thought out to follow a systematically planned sequence.

Right in the middle of something interesting, the teacher may make a dramatic pause, look at Elena and inquire in Spanish, "What did you say, Elena?" Elena whispers in the teacher's ear but loudly enough so the children can hear. Perhaps she says "Tengo sed," whereupon the teacher goes to the sink, pretends to fill a paper cup with water, then offers it to Elena. She pretends to drink, then replies, "Gracias, señora, ahora no tengo sed." A plastic apple or pear tends to assuage the hunger of Carlitos.

The next day someone will ask, "Is Elena thirsty today?" "I don't know, shall we ask her?"

"Yes."

Elena, ¿tienes sed?

If she answers in the affirmative, a delighted child goes through the make-believe of bringing her a drink. Carlitos munches audibly on an apple and rubs his stomach after he has been asked "¿Tienes hambre?"

The children get practice in both the familiar and the formal forms as they speak to the parents or the children in the doll family, the teachers, or their classmates. They take care naturally of much repetition. They love to use what they know. As they sit down to juice and crackers at snack time, all around the tables each day can be heard, "M-m-m, tengo hambre, tengo sed", followed by eating and drinking. They find these expressions useful at home also.

"I want -" is a basic pattern the children find very useful. As Carlitos and Elena are very polite, our children soon learn to use por favor, gracias, and de nada.

Special holidays add their particular vocabularies, as do seasonable fruits and vegetables, objects in the room and animals. The pinata is so well known as to be almost American. At Christmastime, we develop a vocabulary that will allow the children to understand the family in the Living Lanugage records.[1] These children are called Elena and Carlitos. They prepare to entertain their grandparents who are coming from the United States to spend the holidays with them. These records have the added advantage of letting the children hear Spanish spoken by different native speakers — male, female, young, old. Other records are used during the year and, even if they cannot but catch a word here and there, the children are interested and are helped to get a feeling for the language.

Picture books used are carefully selected to show the foreign children as they are and in their natural surroundings.[2] We want our children to identify with the foreign culture and feel the foreign atmosphere.

Filmstrips are sometimes shown. Even better are movies of Latin America that show gestures and facial expressions.

The children are very fond of games. Simón dice is excellent for practicing names of parts of the body or following any active directions. Another favorite is ¿Qué falta? which can be used to review any vocabulary providing one has pictures or objects to remove from sight.

One of the most pleasurable ways of teaching and learning a foreign language is through songs and song games. We are careful to select children's songs from the foreign countries, not translations of English songs. These are simple, tuneful, easy to remember, and idiomatic. Most of the Mexican songs taught our children were sung for me by a petite school teacher whose home is on the lower slope of Popocatepetl. The tape recorder preserves her voice.

Much incidental learning occurs during the day also. If said at the appropriate time and place, children have no difficulty understanding. As Julie came to class after finger painting, the teacher looked at her hands and remarked in Spanish, "Julie has red hands." The children laughed and looked to see if there were others with colored hands. Such expressions as I'm sorry, I'm glad, be careful, be quiet, expressions about the weather and small pleasantries soon become a part of the children's vocabulary. They are quick to know that if the teacher is speaking Spanish, they are expected to carry on the dialogue in Spanish. They have little difficulty changing from English to Spanish or vice versa.

As the year progresses, we add dolls from other countries: Robert and Lisette from France, Hans and Hilda from Germany. Time prevents our learning as much vocabulary with them as we do with Elena and Carlitos, but the children have a firm understanding that people in different parts of the world speak different languages. They realize that any difference between them and these foreign children lies more in language than in ideas, needs, and desires. They have no trouble changing from Buenos días to Bonjour to Guten Morgan! Or counting with the child from a foreign country or singing a favorite song. Whenever something new is introduced in English, the first question our children ask is, "How does Elena (or Carlitos) say that in Spanish?"

Each day as the end of the period approached, and the time had come to leave the learning center, children linger lovingly by the dolls, fingering their clothing and softly saying, "Adios, Elena, Carlitos, Mamacita, Papacito. Adios. Hasta mañana."

FOOTNOTES:

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4

A CULTURAL FRAMEWORK FOR TEACHING SPANISH TO CHILDREN

Dorothy Sword Bishop

When we teach Spanish to children, let's remember to include information about the way Latin American and Spanish peoples live, feel and act. A cultural background helps to make language learning easier, and it certainly makes it more fun. Beyond this, knowledge of the culture will help to develop in our pupils a more sympathetic understanding of the ways of another people. We, as teachers, should be reasonably fluent in the language, and we should have firsthand knowledge of the way Latin American people behave in their own societies, in order to create such an atmosphere in the classroom.

Let's explore some of the ways in which we can lead our pupils to an awareness of life in the Spanish-speaking world. Our very first task will probably be to convince pupils that Spanish is real speech spoken by millions of real people who live in many real countries. This poses some interesting problems in teaching Spanish to young children, for to them the world beyond their own small persons is often something very fuzzy, indeed.

This is not to say that language learning should not be begun at an early age —far from it. But it is to say that cultural concepts will be better understood when the child reaches greater maturity. Before the time the child gains greater awareness of the world beyond his own, however, great benefits may be derived from early training in the language.

Now, where do we begin? First, we teach the young child to talk in Spanish about himself, his family, his friends, and his own everyday activities. As we do this, however, we encourage active participation in certain characteristic gestures and speech patterns of Spanish-speaking peoples. For example, the children may be taught to shake hands when they greet each other with Buenos días. ¿Qué tal?, and they may be taught to give the "come hither" signal with their hands when they say Adios. Pupils may learn the diminutive form of their friends' names, and subsequently the widespread use of diminutives in Spanish speech. They may learn simple jingles and proverbs that pepper Spanish speech. They may learn that in Spanish, animals have patas (legs) rather than piernas (legs), and they may learn that even the animals "speak Spanish" in that culture, for Spanish-speaking dogs say guau-guau, chicks say pío, pío, and roosters say qui-qui-ri-quí.

Practical everyday aspects of life in Latin America may be presented most easily through conversation in Spanish about such subjects as meal time, different foods and table customs, clothing, shopping in different kinds of stores, and home life. Children like to talk about relationships with family members, and lessons on this topic give them an opportunity to become aware of cultural aspects of family life in Spanish-speaking countries. For example, the particular ways universal concerns are expressed, such as: the dominance of the father, respect for adults, and the place of women and children in the society are of great interest to our children. School activities may also serve as the basis for much language learning, and this topic helps to develop a sense of identification with the child in a Spanish culture.

It goes without saying that the cultural activities talked about and demonstrated must be within the range of the children's understanding. It does no good to talk about Juan who lives on a coffee plantation in Costa Rica if they have no conception of what Juan looks like, what his home is like, what he eats, and how he spends his time at school and at play. Children in one of our schools were surprised and interested to find that a visitor from Argentina looked very much like themselves, wore fashionable dresses, and at home lived in a city much like their own.

All of this is to say that, in the beginning, cultural concepts must be simple and practical, and the subjects presented must be of a kind that the child can relate to himself and the world he knows. After this first stage, the child's horizons may be expanded through snatches of history and elemental bits of geography.

Children with a basic working vocabulary enjoy brief accounts of historical figures like Columbus or Cortez. These may be done in very simple Spanish because the pupils already have some knowledge of these historical figures from their social studies. Likewise, simple geographical concepts may be introduced, so that a basic knowledge is gained of where the Spanish-speaking countries are, what the climate is like in those countries, where the volcanos and jungles are located, and something about them. What do they look like? Are they hot? Do snakes live there? Children may be taught the location and certain interesting characteristics of large important cities. They like to know about modes of transportation, what the sidewalks are like, what kinds of houses people live in, what the schools are like, what the markets are like, what people do for recreation, and so on.

As the child is brought to a realization of the location and characteristics of these countries, he may be introduced to the folk tales and legends from the different areas. This, because of the child's limited vocabulary, is best done in English at a class period especially set aside for this activity. Much cultural knowledge may be gained from these sessions, and they enhance language learning. Folk tales and legends also serve as an introduction to future study of the literature of Spanish-speaking countries.

Universally popular fairy tales such as Little Red Riding Hood, The Three Bears, and Chicken Little may be told in simple Spanish. They serve to bridge the cultural gap when children learn that they are told, read, and enjoyed in Spanish-speaking countries as they are in the United States.

By the end of the first phase, the children should have been brought through the following stages: (1) practical and simple language directly pertinent to the child; (2) a superficial knowledge of certain customs most easily understood; (3) acquaintance with some historical figures; (4) some knowledge of Spanish countries and cities; (5) an introduction to folk tales and legends.

The child now has a basic body of knowledge, both in the language and of the culture. He is presumably in the late months of the sixth grade or in the seventh grade, and he is now ready to begin reading and writing Spanish. In the beginning, he will again be most successful and comfortable when he reads about everyday affairs: getting up in the morning, getting dressed, eating breakfast, going to school, playing ball, taking a walk, and so forth. But he usually is able to move much faster, and he begins to be more curious about the daily affairs of Juan and Maria in Chile, Spain, or Costa Rica. This is when the well-traveled teacher is truly invaluable. When questions arise, the teacher "who has been there" can make use of all his experiences and bring Spanish culture to life for his pupils. He will often have slides and motion pictures to show what the country is really like, and if the teacher shows up in some of the pictures, so much the better, for then the pupils are able to identify with the teacher and vicariously enjoy the trip to the strange land.

In establishing reading skills, it is most satisfying to both teacher and pupil, at this stage, if suitable reading material can be found about boys and girls who live in Spain, Puerto Rico, Argentina, Mexico, and other Spanish-speaking countries. Culture and language blend inextricably in the minds of youngsters who have reached this stage. The older child enjoys identifying with a youngster from another culture far removed from his own.

The youngster in junior high school is most interested in sports, in travel, and in history (especially stories about the Aztecs and the conquest of Mexico). He is interested in social aspects of life. (How does the status of men, women and children differ?) He is fascinated by bullfighting. Girls are particularly interested in the Spanish boy-girl relationship, clothes, and the regional art, music and dance. This is a period of great inquiry and great interest, and good films, filmstrips, records, pictures, and realia are extremely valuable and make lasting impressions.

Whether Spanish is first taught in the grades or in the junior high school (seventh and eighth grades), the primary contact with culture is by necessity through the language itself, for the language mirrors the culture. Even young children will gain some insight into the culture as they learn to talk about concrete objects like the kinds of houses Spanish-speaking people live in, the kinds of food they eat, the way towns and cities are laid out, what the country folk do and how they live. Children also gain insight as they learn songs and listen to music typical of a region, as they learn to play games Spanish-speaking children play, and so on. They tend to identify with children from Spanish-speaking countries when they learn rhymes that are popular with them.

For example, I watched children in a primary school in Cuernavaca as they played a game that began with the following elimination rhyme:

> De tin marín
> dedo pingue,
> cúcara, mácara,
> títere fue.

I introduced it to one of my classes, and explained how it was used by the children in Cuernavaca. The children learned it with enthusiasm and made it their own by using it in their own play periods. Similarly I heard the familiar tongue twister Erre con erre many times at social gatherings in Costa Rica. Our children learned it eagerly, and incidentally developed a remarkable rolled r in the process.

Spanish-speaking people as a whole appear to be more verbal tham most Americans, and their speech is liberally sprinkled with rhymes, jingles, and proverbs. One commonly hears sayings like Poco a poco se va lejos; or No entran moscas en boca cerrada: or Dime con quien andas y te diré quien eras; in everyday conversation. The unversal use of proverbs gives pupils some idea of the importance and impact of verbal expression in Spanish-speaking countries and also some idea of the rather conservative social attitudes that prevail in contrast to the attitudes of large segments of our society.

A study unit on travel, built around the idea of flying to Mexico City, and incorporating a stroll down Avenida Juarez or the Paseo de la Reforma, a visit to Chapultepec Park, and a meal in a restaurant, provides for older pupils not only an opportunity to learn vocabulary and verb forms, but also serves to give important insight into life in that city. The same kinds of vocabulary can be used in a travel unit with a destination of, say, Minneapolis, but the cultural impact will be utterly lost.

Ideally the teacher should have firsthand experience in order to transmit the sights and sounds of another country to his pupils, but, even if he lacks this, much can be done with filmstrips and films. Many of these are now available, and by judiciously choosing materials suitable to the age of the youngsters the teacher may still bring much of cultural value to a unit on travel.

The comments expressed above apply equally to study units centered on family life, school, children at play, rural life, shopping in stores and in open-air markets, and to other facets of life in Latin America. The language takes on real meaning when it is taught within the context of the culture.

Vicarious participation in Latin American culture may be encouraged by having at hand all kinds of realia (bought, begged, or borrowed), colorful travel posters, a set of flags, picture postcards, Spanish language magazines, recordings, and books. Let the children handle the toys, articles of clothing, pottery, coins, baskets, and so on. Let them look at the magazines, post cards and books when they have spare time. Handling the "real thing" tends to encourage children to speak the language. A child with pesos and centavos in his hands learns to talk about and understand Mexican money, and the exchange of real coins makes his classroom "shopping expedition" a real experience for him. How much more effective this is than learning dialogs and structure drills as entities in themselves!

Most children love to make and manipulate hand puppets. When teaching a unit on clothing, encourage youngsters to make hand puppets and dress them in appropriate articles of clothing. They can get ideas from the classroom collection of pictures, from filmstrips and films, and from magazines and books. Have the children "write" a play for the puppets. This may be done by having the children decide what the play will be about and then having them orally develop the lines in Spanish. The teacher can write them on the chalkboard or on a large sheet of paper. After the play is "written," a small group may memorize the lines and put on a puppet show for their classmates, for other classes, for assemblies, or for a gathering of parents. Properly guided, the speech will be authentic, though very simple, and the Spanish characters will come to life, thus giving a feeling for real people in Spanish-speaking countries. Children identify with their hand puppets and tend to lose self-consciousness, thereby enhancing their spoken Spanish as a bonus to the cultural activity.

When formal lessons are in progress, authentic gestures should accompany speech whenever appropriate, for the "silent language" is just as eloquent (sometimes more so) than the spoken word. Teach the children to shrug their shoulders, talk with their hands, tilt their heads, roll their eyes, and generally use all the paralinguistic gestures and bodily movements that go with the things they say. The gestures are of universal interest to the children and enhance speech.

Whenever Spanish-speaking persons are available in the community, invite them to the classroom to talk with the children. Children enjoy hearing stories about the visitor's life in his own country. Authentic contacts make a lasting impression.

All cultural information need not be imparted in Spanish. There is a place for relating anecdotes, for telling about historical episodes, and for telling folk tales to children in English. Most children in the intermediate grades will have studied something about the geography and history of the Latin American countries, and probably something about Europe and Spain, so a body of knowledge is already present. The task of the Spanish teacher is to relate the knowledge gleaned from social studies to the culture and the language of the countries. The Spanish teacher is in a position to make history a cultural experience for his pupils when he relates tales of the Spanish Conquest or tells about the stirring times of the Mexican Revolution.

The beauty of the language itself may be communicated to the children by teaching them simple poems, first for their beauty of sound, then for their meaning. Two that are particularly effective are Los sentidos by Amado Nervo and Cancion tonta by Federico Garcia Lorca. These poems have the advantage of being fun to say, and they are easy to learn. In addition, a great deal of useful vocabulary and structure is presented in poetic form. As they are ready, the children may be shown the relationship of the language used here to the language as they learn it in more formal lessons. Even young children enjoy hearing a body of language as it is actually used after they have learned enough basic vocabulary to get the sense of a poem like Los sentidos.

If we are to give our pupils a well rounded Spanish cultural background, we should not neglect the fine arts. Children find stories about Velásquez, El Greco, Goya and our modern-day Picasso interesting. Inexpensive prints of their paintings may be brought to the classroom, and trips to an art gallery may be planned. In many instances the subjects of the paintings are of interest to the children. For example, Velásquez' painting Las Meninas, with the Infanta Margarita as the central figure, captures the imagination. A picture like this can lead to an interesting discussion of court life in the middle of the 17th Century, and many children find it interesting to do some research in the library on the life and times of Philip IV and of Velásquez. Naturally the works of the famous Mexican artists and the remarkable mosaics in Mexico City should form part of the background given on the Spanish artistic world.

For children, music and dancing will seem almost synonymous, for many of the children's songs from Latin America are really game songs or are songs that accompany folk dances. Songs like El patio de mi casa, Arroz con leche, Los pollitos, Ambosado (sometimes known as Matarile-rile), and Dos y dos son cuatro are distinctly children's songs and form an authentic cultural tie for English-speaking children. These may be learned and repeated frequently in the classroom. Children love them, and they enjoy carrying out the actions or playing the games, as the case may be. Meanwhile, they learn a great deal of Spanish!

Children may also be introduced to other Spanish music, both popular and classical, through recordings. The music of the bullfight is dramatic and exciting and can serve as an introduction to the Spanish view of bullfighting and its importance in the social scene. Music is such an integral part of life in Latin America that it should not be neglected in giving pupils a broad cultural background.

Dancing also is important. Children in Central American countries, for example, spontaneously and unselfconsciously dance to the sound of the guitar, an orchestra, or the juke box. Children dance at home and at parties; they dance at school, and out on excursions. Something of this sponstaneity can be brought to the classroom by the teacher who has experienced the delight of watching children in Latin American countries.

Sports constitute an important part of the Latin American cultural scene. Soccer or fútbol is taken very seriously. Baseball is popular. Los charros in their Sunday meets in Mexico City and elsewhere enjoy their horses and exhibitions. Basketball is rapidly gaining great popularity. And,of course, bullfighting is the indigenous sport in many Spanish American countries and in Spain. Much insight may be gained from reading about these sports and by having the teacher relay his firsthand experience at these events. Young people will be interested to learn about the reactions of the crowds and of the individuals who participate in these sports, for the reactions are revealing of the temperament of the Latin male, and indeed of the temperament of the people.

Social mores grow out of the temperament of the people, and for the child to really understand attitudes within the Latin American culture, he needs to understand some of the social customs. Admittedly the understanding will be superficial because of the youth of the pupils, but they will gain more understanding of the language through some knowledge of social customs and attitudes.

For example, extreme politeness is built into the language and into ordinary daily communication. A young woman leaving a pesero taxicab will, upon paying the driver, usually say something like *Ud. es muy amable, Gracias.* When one buys a bus ticket, the ticket seller will often say *¿En qué puedo servirle?* (How may I serve you?) After the buyer has stated his destination, the number of tickets he needs, and completed the transaction, the ticket seller most likely will send him off with a cheery *¡Haga Ud. un feliz viaje, señor!* The children should be made aware that the speech is liberally sprinkled with polite phrases—*Hagame el favor de.* . ., *Muchas gracias*, *De nada*, *Por favor*, *Dispénseme*, and so on.

The church and religion have an important place in the social scheme. Pupils should be given some understanding of the history and impact of the Catholic church in Spain and in Latin America. Religious festivals are important and are a very real part of life. Great festivals take place all over Latin America all year long. Children may be told that Christmas in Latin America is a religious celebration rather than the secular celebration that it has become in the United States. The beautiful music of the *Posadas* and the Mexican tradition during the Christmas season may be re-enacted to give the youngsters an idea of this custom. Children may be told about the celebration of the Day of The Three Kings on January 6, as another part of the Mexican Christmas tradition.

Spanish, like any language, can only be learned meaningfully when it is learned within its cultural context. For the child learning Spanish, the cultural framework must generally consist of practical material he can understand. The remarks made above come from experience in teaching children, and discovering the things they are interested in. When we keep the child in mind, and build on his native curiosity and interest in people, we not only teach him Spanish, but give him the basis for real communication in another tongue, as we engage in the most delightful and rewarding occupation: teaching Spanish to children.

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Resource Books

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An excellent resource book for the teacher engaged in teaching foreign language to children.

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The chapters on Language and Culture and Cultural Content and Literature are particularly interesting and useful.

Cornfield, Ruth R., Foreign Language Instruction: Dimensions and Horizons, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1966. $3.95
A handbook on teaching foreign language to children. The chapter on the approach to culture contains many practical suggestions.

Toor, Frances, Mexican Folkways, Crown Publishers, New York, 1947. $7.50
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Newman, Shirlee P., Folk Tales of Latin America, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis and New York, 1962. $3.25
A collection of tales and fables from Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Bolivia, Chile, Guatemala and other Latin American countries. Fine for reading to children or to have on the children's reading table.

Dolch, Edward W. and Marguerite P., Stories from Mexico, Garrard Company, Champaign, Illinois, 1962. $2.40
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An interesting portrayal of the life of a boy in Puerto Vallarta. Well illustrated with photographs. This book appeals particularly to youngsters in the intermediate grades.

Kirtland, G.B., One Day in Aztec Mexico, Harcourt, Brace and W World, Inc., New York, 1963. $2.67

Geis, Darlene, Let's Travel to Mexico, Children's Press, Inc., Chicago, 1965. $3.95

Not a storybook, but it reads like one. Excellent commentary and cultural background. Beautiful full-page color plates.

Geis, Darlene, Let's Travel in Spain, Children's Press, Inc., Chicago, 1964. $3.95

A companion to Let's Travel in Mexico. Excellent cultural background. Beautiful full-page color plates.

Filmstrips

Encyclopedia Britannica Educ. Corp. Department 10A 425 N. Michigan Avenue Chicago, Illinois 60611	Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar (color) Set of 6 - $69.00

National Georgraphic Society made these filmstrips. They are accompanied by records narrated in English. Remarkable color shots and excellent narration. A highly recommended set of filmstrips for either Spanish or Social Studies classes.

Studyscopes P.O. Box 25943 Los Angeles, California 90025	Living in Mexico Today (color) Authentic background material on Education, Housing, Markets and Shopping, Places of Interest, Recreation, Transportation, Working. Set - $57.00

For young children these are best used with comments by the teacher. A tape (in Spanish) accompanies the strips -- useful toward the end of Level I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Studyscopes
P.O. Box 25943
Los Angles, California 90025

La Juventud de América Latina (color)
La juventud de la ciudad
La juventud de la provincia
Las escuelas secundarias
Las feria y un paseo en Acapulco
Set - $31.50

Best for junior high age. Good pictures and Spanish commentary on tape.

EAV (Educational Audio-Visual, Inc.)
Pleasantville, New York 10570

Let's Visit South America
Let's Visit Mexico
Let's Visit Spain
La Corrida
Set of 4 Spanish Language Tapes (color) - $41.85

These strips are in color and give an overview of people and places. The South American strip shows shots of Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Chile, Peru, and other countries.

McGraw-Hill
Text Films Division
330 W. 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

Nuestros Vecinos Latinoamericanos (color)
Set - $45.00

The filmstrips are well done and give a good picture of life in several Latin American countries. There is a filmstrip about each of the following countries:

Chile, Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela, and Peru

A record accompanies each strip. The Spanish narration is clear and fairly simple.

SVE (Society for Visual Educ., Inc.)
1345 Diversey Parkway
Chicago, Illinois 60614

Taxco, A Spanish Colonial City (color)
The Historical Triangle -- Mexico City, Cuernavaca and Puebla
$10.00 each

Both filmstrips are narrated in English on records. The filmstrips and narration combine to give a good panoramic picture of these cities. They serve as excellent cultural background.

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Films

(Distributor)
Paul Hoefler Language Teaching Films
Walt Disney 16 mm Films
800 Sonora Avenue
Glendale, California 91201

(All color)
Pablo de Yucatan $115.00
La ciudad de Mexico $165.00
Taxco, pueblo de arte "
Una familia de un pueblo mexicano $165.00

These are all excellent color films, narrated in simple Spanish. La ciudad de Mexico is particularly good because of its emphasis on modern buildings, industry, and the cosmopolitan aspect of the city.

Encyclopaedia Britannica Educ. Corp.
Department 10A
425 N. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60611

The Day Manolete Was Killed
(black & white)
$155.00

A film made with a series of still photographs. Gives an authentic and moving account of the life of Manolete. Useful for late junior high. Narrated in English.

McGraw-Hill
Text Films Division
330 W. 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

El Peru
(color)
$200.00

A beautiful film that gives a good picture of life in the cities as contrasted with life in a mountain village. Much information is given on the economy and industry of Peru. It is narrated in Spanish. Useful for late Level I.

(Distributor)
Henk-Newenhouse
1825 Willow Road
Northfield, Illinois 60093

Mexico--Tierra de color y contrastes
(color) $155.00 - Neubacher-Vetter

Excellent overview of Mexico. It has beautiful sequences showing the mountains, vegetation and seashore. Interesting shots contrast the colonial towns of Querétaro, San Miguel Allende and Taxco with modern Mexico City. Narration is in Spanish. Useful for Level I.

Records

Neil A. Kjos Music Company
525 Busse Highway
Park Ridge, Illinois 60068

Language Through Songs Series (1961)
-Beatrice and Max Krones
Cantemos, niños!
Cantemos en Español, Book 1(Vol.1&2)

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Goldsmith's Music Shop, Inc. *Cantemos en Español, Book 2*(Vol.1&2)
(See Below) Set - $36.25

The records accompanying songbooks are excellent. They contain a very complete selection of all kinds of Spanish songs and are eminently useful.

Stanley Bowmar Company, Inc. *Latin American Game Songs*
4 Broadway $4.95
Valhalla, New York 10595

This record contains sixteen folksongs and complete instructions for the games are provided. Popular children's songs include *Arroz con leche*, *San Saverino*, *La Viudita del Conde Laurel* and *Al Quebrar la Piñata*. This is a very good record for young Spanish pupils.

Goldsmith's Music Shop, Inc. *Mexican Folk Songs*
Language Department GMS - DISC 7008 (vocal) $6.95
401 W. 42nd Street GMS - D 7009 (instrumental)6.95
New York, N.Y. 10036

A collection of popular songs including *La Paloma*, *Chiapanecas* and *Cuatro Milpas*. Both records are fine for the classroom. A song sheet with the works is included.

Goldsmith's Music Shop, Inc. *Pan American Folk Dancing*
Language Department $4.95
401 W. 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

Music, words and instructions for the dance steps are included for twelve Latin American folk dances. The countries represented include Argentina, Colombia, Peru, Mexico, Chile and many others. An excellent recording.

Goldsmith's Music Shop, Inc. *A los toros!*
Language Department $7.95
401 W. 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

It is an album composed of a book and record. A complete description of the bullfight is written in Spanish, and illustrated with line drawings. Music of the bullfight recorded at the Plaza de Toros de Madrid.

5

DIRECT CLASSROOM TEACHING OF CULTURAL CONCEPTS

James S. Taylor

It's not difficult to see why foreign language teachers are often apprehensive as they approach the task of teaching culture in their classrooms. The enormous breadth and range of the material which could be taught are overwhelming. To fully understand the complexity of the problem, let's make a simple analogy.

Let's imagine you are given a large box containing several hundred jigsaw puzzle pieces, and told you have only 60 minutes to put together as much of the puzzle as you can. At the end of the hour you will be expected to furnish as many details about the total picture as you possibly can, drawing information from whatever parts you were able to assemble. As you begin work you realize that some of the pieces must be from another puzzle, because they obviously don't fit the one you are assembling. Probably your best plan of action would be to sort out the pieces which don't belong, start on the border pieces until you have the outside framework, and then concentrate on areas where there are definite contrasts such as houses, fences, and trees. You would not confine yourself to one area since that would limit what you could learn of the overall picture, nor would you spend much time on relatively empty areas of sky or water. At the end of the allotted time you would still have many unfinished parts, and some areas would be only faintly recognizable, but if you had the border finished and most of the main features completed, you could give a fairly accurate description of the whole picture.

This comparison is quite useful in illustrating the complexity of the language teacher's task as he strives toward his objective of giving his students cultural insight and awareness. Culture in both its "anthropology" and "civilization" definitions is so broad that the student (or the teacher, for that matter) will never be able to learn everything. At best, a framework can be established, and enough important areas filled in to allow a fairly accurate glimpse of the total picture.

The teacher cannot just hand the student a box full of jigsaw pieces (cultural concepts) and let him work on his own. The student might spend all his time on "blank sky" areas -- information of relatively little importance, such as the annual number of tons of coal produced in a foreign country or the yearly imports and exports. The student could easily be misled by the pieces which do not belong to the "puzzle" -- false stereotypes or mistaken preconceptions such as the Mexican with his serape and sombrero. The teacher's own background and knowledge must be such that he can guide the student in choosing the areas which will give him the most accurate and important information about the total picture. A student without guidance is likely to draw false conclusions or even miss the cultural point completely.

It is not uncommon for Americans to spend several years in foreign countries and be completely unaware of many of the behavioral characteristics of the members of that community. The characteristics become obvious only when discussed or pointed out. Several years ago, I was with a group of Spanish teachers who had just taken a nationally standardized proficiency test for language teachers. The immediate topic of conversation was a question which had been in the civilization and culture section of the test. It had asked whether Latin Americans stand closer together or farther apart than North Americas while conversing. Although many of us had lived in Latin America, and several of the teachers were native Latin Americans, there was strong disagreement about the answer. None of us, including the natives, had even been aware that there was a difference.

The need seems quite clear. It is not enough just to expose the student to cultural information and then expect him to detect all the differences on his own. The teacher must make him conscious of basic contrasts and train him to be perceptive of others. By helping the student see which areas are important and which are trivial, the teacher guards him against mislearning.

As he accepts the challenge of helping his students fit the puzzle together, the teacher has three basic avenues open to him.

1) Out-of-class activities
2) Indirect classroom teaching
3) Direct classroom teaching

In this article we will only briefly summarize the first two approaches and will focus in greater depth on the latter.

OUT-OF-CLASS ACTIVITIES

Out-of-class activities afford varied and fruitful supplements to the cultural information a teacher presents in class. Eating at foreign restaurants, seeing foreign movies, and visiting culturally authentic areas, help make the contrasts especially clear. Guest speakers, slide lectures, and movies during lunch hour or after school are, of course, very interesting, and they also afford the opportunity to invite participation by students not studying foreign languages. An active and imaginative Spanish Club can be the most valuable asset in these kinds of activities, especially if it supplements an imaginative and viable learning experience in the class.

INDIRECT CLASSROOM TEACHING

There are many ways that cultural information can be introduced indirectly. Although there may be no overt explanation or discussion, cultural concepts may be included in the dialogs, pictures, and reading selections of the text materials. Supplemental materials such as films, display pictures, slides, and filmstrips depict authentic scenes of life in the foreign countries.

Every school library usually contains numerous books about foreign countries, and teachers commonly distribute reading lists and have students write or give reports on their outside reading.

The classroom itself can be a vehicle for presenting cultural concepts: realia displays, decorations, maps, pictures, posters, and bulletin boards all add information which will fill in gaps in the total picture.

DIRECT CLASSROOM TEACHING

Since the danger inherent in the two approaches just summarized is that students are seldom able to absorb cultural information with insight and understanding on their own, the information may be useless or may be treated as curious facts, having little effect on the students' behavior. Therefore, the teacher must help them openly and directly.

There are many techniques available to the teacher as he prepares to present cultural concepts directly in the classroom. Three of them are: 1) "cultural asides," 2) "slices of life," and 3) "culture capsules."

Cultural Asides. A cultural aside is a brief (not more than two or three sentences) explanation that the teacher makes about a point brought up spontaneously during the class period. Although the teacher may work the aside into his lesson plan, he has not prepared materials in advance to teach the concept. He takes immediate advantage of the "teaching moment" because it now holds the interest and attention of the students. A teacher might make several cultural asides in one class period. Consider the following examples:

> The class is learning a dialog. In it a young man refers to the mother of his friend as doña María. A student asks what doña means. The teacher briefly explains that don and doña are special titles used in Spanish-speaking countries, and gives examples of situations where the titles would be used.
> The class has just watched a film version of a dialog they are going to learn. Just before playing it through a second time the teacher asks if anyone noticed the gesture the father made expressing his impatience with the young son who seems to be rushing his need to start shaving. The teacher directs them to watch for it during the replay.

These asides will be by far the student's most common source of cultural information. Therefore, the teacher must develop a wide background in the target culture.

Slices of Life. This technique requires planning, research, and preparation by the teacher. It is patterned after the "preamble" technique suggested by Nelson Brooks.[1] The teacher selects authentic segments from life in a foreign country and presents them to the class, usually just prior to the beginning or end of class. Following are some examples of these "slices."

> As the students begin filing into the classroom before the tardy bell, the teacher plays a record of a popular song sung by Raphael, a teen-age hero. As the bell rings he stops it and makes a few remarks about the popularity of the song and the singer.
>
> The students have finished their work for the day and there are a few minutes before the end of class. The teacher plays a tape segment with radio commercials advertising pasta dental Colgate, Mejoral, etc.

These slices of life must indeed be slices. They should never last longer than a few minutes and the teacher should comment on them only briefly.

Culture capsules. Culture capsules have been found to be very effective in teaching cultural concepts in the classroom.[2] A culture capsule is an illustrated presentation of a single cultural concept, lasting about ten minutes. The teacher selects a minimal contrast between the culture of his students and the target culture, prepares himself well, and then discusses it directly in the classroom. This presentation should not be confined to a lecture by the teacher. Every effort should be made to involve the students in doing something to experience the cultural concept. The teacher must avoid just presenting a bundle of facts. The following techniques can be very helpful.

Many teachers find question-directed discussion very effective. Rather than merely give out information, the teacher leads students by means of skillfully-worded questions to "discover" a concept by themselves.

> The teacher shows a slide of a home typical of the Latin American lower-middle class. He then asks:
>
> "How does this home differ from an American home?"
>
> After the students have pointed out the obvious differences, such as the tile roof, fronting directly on the street, etc., the teacher asks:
>
> "Where is the garage?" (There is none. Most people of this class have no car.)
>
> "Is there no front yard? Where do the children play? (The patio is in the back of the home.)
>
> "Do you see any basement windows?" (There is no basement.)

> "Then where do they keep the furnace?" (There is no furnace.)

The questions continue until all the desired concepts have been mentioned and discussed.

The inquiry method, used by many teachers, lends itself quite well to the presentation of a culture capsule. The teacher introduces a subject and then assumes the role of a "resource person," answering only "yes" or "no" to questions asked by the students as they try to determine the concept to be learned.

> The teacher holds up a bombilla, along with a mate gourd filled with yerba, and looks expectantly at the students. They know the rules of the game and start asking questions:
>
> "Is it from a Spanish-speaking country?" (Yes)
>
> "Is it from South America?" (Yes)
>
> "Is it from Argentina?" (Yes)
>
> "Is it used for decoration?" (No)
>
> "Is it a toy?" (No)
>
> "Do people use it daily?" (Yes)
>
> "Does it have something in it?" (Yes)
>
> "May we see it?" (Yes. Shows the yerba to them.)
>
> "Is it something to eat?" (No)

And so on, until the students have established what it is, how it is used, and have even tasted it themselves.

Role playing can often provide meaningful reinforcement of concepts presented in a culture capsule. The teacher sets up a hypothetical situation and the students act out the roles of native speakers.

> The teacher has just presented a capsule on gestures commonly used by Spaniards.[3] He now has two students come to the front of the room and act out a dialog

> they have memorized, but this time using the gestures they have just learned. One student calls to another using a gesture meaning "come here." He asks him if he has seen the latest movie at the neighborhood movie theater. His friend answers "no" with a waggle of his forefinger The first student replys that it was magnífico, with the appropriate gestures. They part with the special wave of the hand which signifies adios.

Many other topics lend themselves to role playing: eating in the European style, shopping in a market, bargaining over prices, drinking mate with friends, talking on the phone, buying tickets, etc.

Group solving of situational problems allows the students to make immediate application of information presented in a culture capsule. The teacher has prepared a number of cards which present situations the students might find themselves in. The group discusses the problem for a few minutes in light of what was just learned in the culture capsule and then reports how they would react in such a situation.

> Group A receives a card with the following:
>
> "You have been in Mexico City for two weeks visiting your uncle who is an American businessman there. The Mexican family next door has invited you to a birthday party for their son who is your same age. As you meet him and the other young guests, would you use tú or usted with them?"
>
> The group decides, since the culture capsule had pointed out that young people (and especially Mexicans) use tú with each other, that they, too, would use the familiar form.

Another variation of the situational problem approach is to play "find the blunder." At the end of a culture capsule discussion, the teacher presents some "true case histories" of ugly Americans who found themselves in trouble because of ignorance of cultural differences. The students then try to detect the blunder the American made.

> The teacher talks about American mannerisms which are offensive to Latin Americans and then presents the following "case history."
>
> A young American who has just arrived in Uruguay to begin study at the university finds he needs new heels

on his shoes and decides to take them to a zapateria. He tucks them under his arm and starts out down the street. As he passes a confitería he stops and buys some sweet rolls which he starts to eat as he leaves the shop. At the corner he almost bumps into a pretty Uruguayan student he had met the day before at the university. She talks to him politely, but with a cold and aloof manner which had not been present in their first meeting. She remarks that she finds Americans to be too informal, and often rude. What changed her attitude toward him?

(The student answer that in Uruguay it is considered bad manners to eat on the street or to carry something in public such as shoes, without first wrapping them up, even if just in a newspaper.)

The approaches and examples presented here are just some of the techniques which can be used in teaching cultural information. Use them, adapt them, and improve them. When used frequently, with skill and careful guidance of the students' understanding, they can go a long way toward filling in gaps in that giant picture puzzle which is the way of life of another people.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Nelson Brooks, Language and Language Learning 2nd ed., Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, 1964. p. 278.

[2] H. Darrell Taylor and John L. Sorenson. "Culture Capsules," A Handbook on Latin America for Teachers, ed. by H. Ned Seelye, Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Springfield, Illinois, 1968. pp. 15-18.

[3] Jerald R. Green, A Gesture Inventory for the Teaching of Spanish, Chilton Company, Philadelphia, 1968.

6

TEACHING ASPECTS OF THE FOREIGN CULTURE THROUGH COMIC STRIPS

Wendell Hall
Enrique Lafourcade

Lafourcade: How did you first become interested in cartoons as a medium for teaching language and culture?

Hall: One summer day in January, I was reflecting on my young son's astonishing ability in Spanish after only a few months' residence in Chile and it occurred to me that in addition to nearly total immersion in the language at school and at play, the stacks of comic books he was reading at home might also help account for his skill. I was concerned, too, over the possible harmful effects of such reading and so decided to examine the books.

L: Like the curate and the barber in Don Quixote.

H: I admit to a similar apprehension as to what I was getting into. On inspecting Condorito. . .

L: Created by René Ríos, who goes by the pen name "Pepo."

H: Right. And published by Zig-Zag. I was so surprised at the wealth of linguistic and cultural material presented that I began to consider, in spite of reservations natural to an educator, whether a format so extremely popular among the young might not merit serious investigation as a vehicle for imparting linguistic skills within a framework of situational contexts. Preliminary examination of the cartoons resulted in the following observations:

One: The language employed was natural and authentic, reflecting actual usage in a way which invited comparison with the type of speech that sometimes appears in textbooks.

L: Would you care to illustrate that point?

H: Take this sequence, for example. The customer says: "¡No, no! Nada de eso.... Es para mi suegra." Condorito replies, "¡Haberlo dicho! Tengo justo lo que usted necesita." In my opinion, such lively everyday, indispensable expressions as "Why didn't you say so!" illustrate exactly the sort of thing students not only like to learn, but like to use.

L: "To have said it!" Yes, very useful.

H: Two:

All dialog was accompanied by a visual representation of the situation in which it occurred, incorporating such elements as the age, sex, physical appearance, manner of dress (indicative of profession, social, economic, educational status, etc.), and other personality characteristics of each speaker, and essential aspects of the setting (plaza, cafe, hacienda, etc., etc.)--frequently in considerable detail.

L: Yes, even details like door knobs. As in this cartoon. Here's a cultural contrast you could comment on. The locks on Latin American doors are built primarily for opening from within. Should be, also, a metaphor of something?

H: Once in Vina del Mar I tried to get a locksmith to replace the knob on our front door with the U.S. type that turns. My wife was tired of running to the door to let the kids and their friends in the house. The "maestro" thought I was crazy.

L: Do students enjoy hearing descriptions of such cultural differences?

H: So much so that I've found in my classes that I have to be very careful or the whole hour will be spent on culture instead of language learning. Nothing seems to interest students more, and I feel that any time lost from language study is more than made up for by their increased motivation and the fact that they study with real enjoyment.

L: What values for language learning do you find in the drawings accompanying the dialog?

H: Utterances memorized for recitation in the classroom are of little practical value to students without awareness of the circumstances in which they may be used. Situational cues which guide the native in producing a given utterance are depicted in the cartoons. Such cues, of course, are not always the same for all cultures, and cues which seem to be identical may elicit different responses.

L: You mean if I were to sneeze, you wouldn't automatically say "¡Health!"?

H: Right. And if you saw me wearing a black armband, with your knowledge of our culture and of contemporary problems, you wouldn't ask if someone close to me had died.

L: There's more to these cartoons than one might think. Viewed objectively.

H: The drawings provide an essential frame of reference useful to the student both as a clue to meaning, for aural comprehension or reading, and as a cue for speech production, whether oral or written.

L: Apparently you're not aware that you just missed a cue. That almost imperceptible raising of my left eyebrow was to indicate that I'm ready for the next point.

H: Next point:

> Typical gestures, grimaces, and other kinesic aspects of communication were depicted.

L: By other aspects, do you mean like how somebody walks? I can tell a norteamericano a block away by the way he walks.

H: That sort of thing. This aspect of communication never fails to fascinate students and, of course, they must learn to recognize and control some of the more common gestures, at least, in order to communicate successfully.

L: That's right. If you confused that 'Come here' signal with 'Adios'....

H: Point four:

> Many paralinguistic and onomatopoetic phenomena were represented or suggested by an imaginative use of symbols.

L: "Onomatopoeia, or the Bow-Wow Theory of the Origin of Language." Like the rest of us, primeval man couldn't pronounce it. He just invented it.

H: ¡Plop!

L: ¡Plop! Pepo's favorite onomatopeic effect, produced by someone falling over backward in comic disbelief.

H: My favorite is "¡Gulp!," as someone swallows something or sinks beneath the surface. So suggestive of English "gulp."

L: What's so special about these phonetic phenomena as far as language learning is concerned?

H: They're the life of language. Is there anything deader or more deadly than a lab exercise where the voice on the tape projects a flat, monotonous reading pronunciation devoid of paralinguistic effects? Along with concomitant kinesic patterns, these convey the emotional components of communication.

L: Very true! Such components are always present in Condorito. I note here sobs, signs, stuttering, groans, giggles, coughs, cries, snickers, whining, wheedling, whimpering, and more subtle vocal modulations associated with browbeating, pleading, seductiveness, obnoxiousness, manliness, plaintiveness, craftiness, naivete, airs of superiority, inferiority, pomposity, bonhomie, disappointment, glee, somnolence, benevolence... The inventory is endless.

H: As mentioned, such elements are often suggested through symbolic notation, though more often by the situation or through facial expression, etc.

L: Here are some typical "transcriptions:"

¡Jaaaaack, Jaaack!... Aaaaalo... Te decía que el contra
contra... contra... contrabando está... enn..
Ta-ta-ta-ta-- (That's a machine gun)
¡AAAAGH! (riddled ganster slumps to floor)
¡TOC TOC! ¡TOC TOC! (footsteps in the apartment above)
¡UAAAH! ¡UAAAAAAAH! (a baby crying)
¡RIN! ¡RIN! (the telephone)
JI... JI... JI... No ha faltado desde hace dos años...
(a girl crying)
¡KIKIRIKIII! (a man imitating a rooster)
Desde luego que sí... Este... No sabía que tuviera
algún desperfecto...
Este... (a startled husband fumbling for words)
¡PLAM! (a door slamming shut)
¡TOIING! (a metallic object hitting Condorito's head)
... Condorito dice que... ¡GRAUC! Dice que... ¡GRUAC!
(the parrot Matías)
Se me enredan las palabras para darte una definición
enciclo... enciclo... ciclística... ¡HIP! (inebriated
speech)

H: Are you familiar with the recordings dramatizing Condorito prepared under the direction of Padre Pedro Rubio?

L: Yes, and I think that the range of vocal quality exhibited and the gamut of emotions portrayed is extraordinary. The Sound effects are quite exceptional, too.

H: It takes highly skilled actors to record such natural sounding speech.

L: How come, when we've been speaking "naturally" all our lives, we can't continue to do so when placed on a stage or behind a mike?

H: Your question has important implications for the learning of foreign languages. "Mike fright" or "stage fright," in all its manifestations, is a phenomenon which deserves more study. Concepts of informal, formal, and technical learning and transfer of repertoires acquired in each mode to situations controlled by different contingencies undoubtedly are pertinent to an understanding of this problem.

L: It seems to me that someone learning a language in the classroom is in a situation which is just the reverse of the actor's. Through the experience of everyday life, the actor has already developed very extensive repertoires of verbal and non-verbal behavior which he has to transfer, or adapt, to the limited, artificial circumstances of the stage. The language learner learns a limited amount of behavior in very artificial activities (pattern practice, choral drill, parroting back responses, play acting) and

and then is expected to transfer this to the contingencies of daily life.

H: Both theory and common sense suggest that the greater the correspondence between contingencies associated with emission of a response of a given topography, the greater the ease with which transfer may be accomplished. But actual emission of the response and the exact form it may take (particularly with respect to phonological characteristics) is difficult to predict and depends on factors hardly susceptible to analysis except through introspection. It may be that to a "born" actor, all the world is a stage, and he experiences internally in everyday life contingencies similar to those that affect behavior behind the footlights.

L: Maybe the "born polyglot" has Everyman inside his skin and doesn't react to multilingualism as a threat to his "real" self, but rather as an expansion of his personality through a kind of maturation by which his self becomes more complete or whole.

H: These "internal states" have been omitted from the behaviorist's equations because they can't be observed, but they definitely cannot be ignored in the strategies of instruction devised by teachers. But we'd better move on now to point five. Innumerable relationships, attitudes, activities, institutions, etc., characteristic of the foreign culture were portrayed, overtly or covertly, through the drawings and the printed word.

L: Even the "bomberos" are in here -- the volunteer firemen with their fancy uniforms, social prestige, and guarantee of a magnificent funeral. Nearly every segment of Chilean society parades past the reader in the pages of Condorito.

H: Point six: With his rare gift for caricature, the cartoonist accorded certain behavioral traits and environmental features a prominence which caused the reader to focus his attention on them, thereby gaining awareness of many aspects of the culture which otherwise might have remained unnoticed. I'm not exaggerating when I say that during four years in your country, with opportunities to observe firsthand practically every aspect of Chilean life, I often failed to notice many things until I saw them caricatured in Condorito. Then a light would dawn and I'd suddenly be aware of something I hadn't been able to isolate or hadn't understood.

L: Would you believe I learn a lot about your culture through reading Mary Worth?

H: I've got to mention Topaze. Without the cartoons and other features in that terrific weekly magazine of social and political satire, I believe most of the burning problems agitating Chileans of every persuasion and condition would have passed me by.

L: Without Herblock, Fischetti, and others, not to mention Steve Roper, The Born Loser, and even Robin Malone, many current questions and facets of your culture would escape me.

H: You mean a distinguished novelist like you...

L: I think Europeans and Latin Americans have a different attitude toward cartoons than many Americans. To us they represent a valid form of art. Naturally, there is garbage, as is the case with any medium of expression. But I believe, for instance, that Herge, the creator of Tin-Tin, is a genius. And in Europe there are avid collectors of "vintage" cartoons who treasure collections of Flash Gordon, etc. as reflections of an era which may be understood in part by the psychological and sociological implications of the things depicted in the drawings and conveyed by the printed word.

H: In your opinion, how do attitudes toward this format and its impact fit in with the ideas of Marshall McLuhan?

L: Well, although I don't think the legacy of Gutenberg is at an end...

H: The printed word is certainly still alive and vigorous in your novels. In my opinion, your creativeness in imparting new vitality to the ink-imprinted page is unequalled. The imaginative use of color for printing lyric passages in Novela de Navidad, the juxtaposition of separate plots on opposite pages of Invención a dos voces, the vivid, kinetic, superimposition of images in Para subir al cielo, for example, parallel, in my mind, striking effects achieved in the new media.

L: 'chas gracias, pues. I wish more Americans were acquainted with my works. How would you like to translate Invención a dos voces?

H: ¡Encantado!

L: The legacy of Gutenberg, I was saying... Young people of today grow up surrounded by the sounds and images of the new media. Yet what do we see in education--especially in language learning? Gutenberg seems to be the hottest thing going. We adapt stories, novels, plays, essays: acknowledgements, a preface, a note or two, a glossary, and listo! More fodder for the presses. Why are we so slow to adapt theatrical motion pictures, TV programs, comic strips, animated cartoons?

H: Salt in my wounds! You know I've been working on this for years. Lack of resources... Lack of interest on the past of publishers.. Lack of time...

L: ¡Pobre!

H: We'd better move on to point...?

L: Seven, I believe. Si, siete.

H: Although the basic intent of the cartoonist apparently was to entertain, rather than to edify or inform, nonetheless, most of the cartoons could be related directly or indirectly to some grave moral, psychological, social, economic, or political problem.

L: There are examples here ranging from alcoholism to crime, illiteracy, inflation, militarism, poverty, mental health, political corruption, feminism, juvenile delinquency, birth control, etc.

H: Eight: In general, the cartoons were related to contemporary life, although occasional references to the past provided insights into particular views of history.

L: I recall one humorous sequence on the Spanish conquests and its consequences that is revealing of popular attitudes.

H: Nine: Cartoons depicting North Americans, Argentines, Mexicans, etc. provided clues as to how other cultures might be popularly regarded.

L: Pepo's parody of the American West, which stars "Cóndor the Kid," is about the best he's done. But I like his take-offs on U.S. TV, tourists, and "gángsters," too.

H: Ten: While much more inoffensive in nature than many U.S. cartoons, some sequences presented a scatological type of humor that would be considered improper by many parents.

L: This aspect of your culture puzzles me. You allow young children to view mayhem and murder and flagrant sex without sufficient qualms to really go to work and do something about it and yet any allusion to perfectly natural, normal body functions that are news to no one are considered absolutely taboo.

H: There may be a degree of relaxation in one respect without any noticeable improvement in the other. Eleven: Insights into humor itself, an important part of culture, could be gained through analysis of *Condorito* and the reactions of readers.

L: Comment on that a little, will you? I'm interested in your observations as an outsider.

H: I was beginning to think of myself as an insider.

L: An inside-outsider. I hope you don't get everything *al revés*.

H: La 'talla' chilena. In a way, it reminds me of 'kidding' in our country, but it has its own unique pungency and picaresque thrust. Then there's the 'segunda intención' or 'doble sentido.' You have to be on your toes all the time with Chileans or you'll miss one half--the 'second' half--of every verbal exchange.

L: On second thought, you'll often find the 'intención' is a bit 'picante.' Remember the popular song about inflation, "¡Cómo baja el dinero!"? One of the lines goes "...porque suben los vestidos y no bajan los eslipes."

H: Would it be safe to leave the translation of that particular Anglicism to the imagination?

L: Hmmm.

H: Twelve: The cultural and linguistic content of *Condorito* was so extensive and varied that, with proper selection and editing, it appeared much valuable material could be abstracted for use in the classroom.

L: Since that initial appraisal of Condorito, you have examined thousands of cartoons in several languages, including English, to evaluate their suitability for teaching language and culture. You've also adapted numerous cartoons for classroom use, with vocabularies, notes, exercised, tape recordings, etc. How have these been received by teachers?

H: Quite well, in general, for beginning and intermediate courses at all levels of instruction--in spite of serious criticisms which may be summarized as follows:

1) The language employed in the cartoons is too colloquial: some of the expressions used are not found in dictionaries and are not common to dialects spoken in other areas of America and Spain.
2) "Ungrammatical" forms appear in some of the cartoons.
3) Certain aspects of Hispanic life are misrepresented through exaggerated use of caricature.
4) Emphasis on the comical and unusual results in a distorted view of Hispanic culture.
5) Cartoons are too lacking in esthetic qualities to legitimize their use in the classroom.
6) The content of some cartoons is not suitable for young learners, in that unmannerly and improper behavior is portrayed.
7) Although cultural elements depicted often relate to broad segments of Hispanic society, they are sometimes too national or regional for general application.

L: Some of these criticisms have already been considered in the course of our discussion; other objectives could easily be overcome through more careful selection and editing. Also, materials could include cartoons from other areas of Latin America and Spain.

H: It must be understood that the cartoons are not intended to comprise a complete course of instruction. As supplementary materials, they are designed to add variety, interest, insights, valuable practice in various skills, etc., and in no way are represented as being comprehensive in their treatment of either language or culture.

L: The Notas y ejercicios which accompany Condorito attempt to put things in perspective, identifying the items that are strictly Chilean.

H: With regard to the use of colloquial language and "ungrammatical" forms... Mind if I make an intemperate statement?

L: Go ahead. Anything I don't like, I'll edit out.

H: At a time when some institutions are eliminating requirements for language study, when enrollments are decreasing and drop-out rates are growing, members of the language teaching profession who are deeply concerned with problems of student interest and motivation recognize that perhaps the greatest demand of students is for relevance. When the language taught consists of a depurated "normalized" dialect (the "average" speech of several regions), a textbook writer's notion of "correct" speech, or a disconnected, artificial potpourri contrived for illustrating formal features of the language, the phony quality of it all is soon apparent to the student and it offends him that he is not invited or permitted to relate to real people in real situations who speak a real language and have real needs, hopes, and ideals.

L: Relevant!

H: "Natural" language is characterized by all sorts of false starts, "ungrammatical" utterances, fumblings, falterings, and failures, yet the student is provided with materials that are meticulously composed, rehearsed, recorded, and re-recorded in order to produce "flawless" models for him to imitate. The only flaw in all this is that the student is expected to master a form of speech found only on such tapes and nowhere else on earth. Teachers themselves couldn't talk like that--and don't.

L: I don't know. There are teachers who speak First-Year Spanish.

H: Like the retired first-grade teacher who after wrecking her car stood back to survey the damage and exclaimed, "Oh! Oh! Oh! See! See! See!"

L: While teachers should do what they can to assure that linguistic and cultural models presented are authentic, I think it's much more important for them to establish the limits of what it is reasonable, possible, and desirable to expect of students.

H: I once received an acrimonious communication from a district language supervisor because in a taped dramatization of high school students abroad, I allowed a young man to be himself. Result: a "schwa" that should have been an "a." It would have been no problem to record a "perfect" pronunciation, but how many students could identify with that? How many of them ever learn to speak like natives?

L: The emperor's clothes. We feel too vulnerable to permit ourselves to contemplate bare humanity. The beautiful fabric woven with threads of universal understanding and world brotherhood through perfect bilingualism (acquired in French II and Spanish 301) must not be revealed as an illusion and a farce by some uncooperative kid who tells it like it is.

H: A very good friend of mine speaks English with a pronounced Spanish accent. In many respects his command of English is extraordinary. When native speakers are groping for an appropriate word, he supplies it. Or when a native speaker has expressed something in a verbose, disorganized way, he will succinctly sum things up in a few apt words. However, he has never mastered phonemes /s/ and /z/ of English, among other things, and his speech sounds like a parody of

Desi Arnaz.

L: You think that's easy?

H: Having specialized in the teaching of English to speakers of other languages for some eleven years, I'm confident that, given enough time, and with my friend's willing cooperation, I could measurably "perfect" his pronunciation. I feel no compulsion to re-make him, however. I admire, respect, and esteem him very greatly just as he is.

L: I no espeak lak thees all time.

H: It was someone else I had in mind, esteemed friend.

L: Can the world be made safe for my kind of bilingualism?

H: No. Your kind is fine, but only something ideal and pure can give us an inner vision to pre-empt our eyes for an assault on reality, oblivious of cost and consequences.

L: Would you say, then, that we must free ourselves from the prison of our own propaganda, retrench, salvage where possible what has been invested in unrealistic goals, and go forward in a more modest, enlightened way?

H: Exactly. A student's pronunciation of a given allophone should be accepted when within parameters establishing functional control, whether "native" or not. Adult learners and others unable to perform well in this respect, and whose goal is not to pass themselves off as natives in order to spy for the C.I.A., must be given opportunities to find success and pride of achievement in other skills.

L: In short, the student's progress must no longer be held up to the point where he is tense, frustrated, discouraged and ready to drop out as he is subjected to endless, repetitive, dull, boring, tedious drills designed with perfection in *formal* aspects of language as the goal.

H: Instructional formats must emphasize thematic aspects and be designed to engage students in *social*, *functional* use of the language, as they communicate with the teacher and each other and not with a machine (although they may be aided in this by audiovisual cues and prompts presented by a machine).

L: Primacy of the thematic over the formal must be established in every learning activity.

H: The formal is a servant, opening the door to the thematic, and it must henceforth be kept in a subservient role and never again be permitted to forget its place and become so presumptous, overbearing, and boorish as at present.

L: The perennial servant problem. It's terrible everywhere.

H: The most extreme, most unfortunate collection of formally oriented materials I've ever encountered comprises the course of study in many of the Binational Centers sponsored by the U.S. Information Agency.

L: Like the one in Valparaiso, where we first met.

H: At that time is was my responsibility to oversee instruction in English based on texts and tapes which over a period of eight semesters (four years!) of intensive study devote very little time to sustained discourse of any kind. The study of language and culture logically go hand in hand, yet these materials, lacking thematic content, seldom relate the language in any way to the culture of which it is such an indivisible part.

L: It was against this background that you began to view the lowly comic strip, with its ungrammatical forms, its colloquial speech, its completely random, unsystematic presentation of linguistic and cultural patterns as a humble answer to the system, order, logic, purity, clarity, perfection, emptiness... of form without content.

H: The skeleton without the body.

L: No flesh.

H: No weaknesses of the flesh.

L: No heart. No blood. No life.

Let me thank you now for your interesting, unconventional remarks. Perhaps we could get together again to discuss such topics as the adaptation of theatrical motion pictures for language learning, a "student team" approach to FL instruction, and the use of interpersonal games in achieving social, functional control of language -- all closely related to our present discussion.

H: An additional subject might be the teaching of aspects of foreign culture through the novel -- or literature in general.

L: Let's explore it.

7

THE USE OF FOLKSONGS TO DEVELOP INSIGHT INTO LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE

Dennis Juaire, O.F.M.

Resourceful teachers have always used examples of Latin American music to enliven the study of Spanish, to break the deadening effect of pattern drills, to enrich the program with a little of the culture. The purpose of this paper is to show how the use of Latin American music, especially folksongs, affords a deep insight into the Latin American culture. Folksongs are a source of "culture capsules" that have not always been exploited.

Folksongs are the expressions of the people, the masses, the vast majority. Sometimes folksongs are the expressions of an individual— often unknown —revealing his interpretation of his human situation and finding resonance with the people at large. Such songs are popular: they belong to the people. They reflect their history, their heritage — in a word — their culture.

This paper touches on three points:

1. A brief note on the richness of Latin American folkmusic,
2. A sketch of how to use folksongs in the classroom to exploit the cultural import and impact,

3. A short study of three examples.

I. A Brief Note on the Richness of Latin American Folkmusic

In a striking way the folkmusic of Latin America reveals the three cultural forces that are the warp and woof of Latin America today. The forces are: the indigenous or primitive, the European including especially the Spanish and the African. The import and impact of these three factors varies from country to country and from region to region within the same country. From the indigenous culture short, repetitive, rhythmic patterns remain along with certain musical instruments, e.g., the claves, the maracas, the güiro among others. The European heritage includes a great variety of song-forms: the bolero, the villancico, the polka , etc., along with musical instruments such as the guitar, brass, the accordian, the violin, etc. The African force also left its mark with the dominant drum beat and complicated, syncopated rhythms along with the bongo. The adoption and adaption of these various musical elements provide examples of a very important principle for understanding and appreciating the Latin American culture. There was and is an organic assimilation of the elements: the resulting whole is somehow more than the sum of the parts. There is a dynamic incorporation. The Latin Americans added and add their own creative touch to the heritage handed to them. The arpa jarocha, the guitarrón, the bongo, the mariachi trumpet-duet are just a few cases in point.

In Latin America there is a tremendous variety of folksong forms: the yaravi, the corrido, the huapango, the tango, the habanera, the cha-cha-cha, the mambo, the rhumba, and the calypso, to mention a few. Some of these have become so refined that they are almost classical today. They express the many moods of the Latin people in a truly Latin way, distinctive of the people, indicative of their culture and expressive of their views and values.

The verses of these folksongs offer a fairly simple introduction to Hispanic poetry. In fact the exploitation of their cultural insight presupposes some knowledge of Hispanic poetry as well as an appreciation of the love of Latin Americans for poetry and some understanding of their fondness and facility for improvization. The poetry is rich in its resources, the techniques of poetic expression. Much of this is in the tradition of Spanish poetry: some is quite original, e.g., the creative contributions of Rubén Darío. The predilection of Latins for poetry needs no proof: love letters, serenades, poetry-competitions provide ready support. The many variants or versions as well as the many verses of some songs, e.g., La cucaracha, evince their fondness and facility for improvization.

II. Suggestions for the use of folksongs in the classroom

The choice of folksongs, obviously, must vary according to the classroom situation: the ability of the teacher, the capacity of the students, the availability of music and background material. By background material I mean the "who, what, where, when, why and how" of the folksong. Native renditions or recordings are very helpful. More difficult or complicated songs can be self-defeating. Some songs may prove to be a little embarrassing. It is only sensible, as every good teacher exemplifies, to start with songs that are easier and more commonly known or popular in the United States.

The actual procedure for teaching folksongs is fairly well known, if not obvious, but I shall repeat them here to underscore the cultural insights afforded by the song.

A. Learning the words
   1. repetition-imitation of the model to insure proper pronunciation of first parts, then the whole until memorization and mastery. This may involve learning some allophones;
   2. reading aloud; with advanced groups the first step may be skipped; repeated reading aloud with advertance to sinalefa and sineresis and with emphasis on the proper rhythm.
   3. explaining the text
      1. lexical items with an indication of provincialism which often necessitates a discussion of the cultural context of a word and its meaning, e.g. chula in Mexico.
      2. structural analysis and explanation of how the words are used in a sentence which would include points of grammar and a study of the idiomatic expressions which are often "culture capsules" in themselves.
      3. literary analysis or study of the poetic techniques.

B. Fixing the melody

Repetition of the melody to make the students acquainted with the melody and to help them memorize it. It often helps to take some songs line by line. The feeling, the mood, the tone of the song should be noted.

C. Singing the song

After the song is sung several times there should be a discussion of this song in comparison with others, both Latin American and English, that the students know. The background of the song may be discussed here, if it was not brought in as part of the introduction to the song.

III. Examples, Background of Three Latin American Folksongs

Up till now this discussion has been rather general, theoretical, up-in-the-air. Some examples should help to bring it down to earth. I am going to discuss three examples: "Guantanamera" which is based on a Cuban folksong, the refrain or chorus of the Mexican *corrido*, "La cucaracha," and the Argentine tango, "Adios, muchachos". Again the cultural insights afforded by the three examples is the main issue.

A. "Guantanamera"

I have chosen this folksong because of its popularity here in the United States. The words and melody are simple and well known, but not the cultural background. The melody, as I understand it, was used to sing news items on rural broadcasts in Cuba. If this is the case, again one may note the love for verse along with the fondness and facility for improvization.

The song is actually — or seems to be — "made in the U.S." The verses are almost haphazard selections from the *Versos sencillos*, a series of quatrains written by José Martí, the Cuban poet-patriot (1853-1895) who died fighting for the freedom of Cuba from Spain. The verses chosen are somewhat representative of the poet, but certainly do not exhaust the highly personal and very profound expression of his views and values found in many other quatrains in the *Versos sencillos*. Some Cuban friends of mine think that the song is a desecration. This fact only indicates the cultural gap that prompts a paper like this. But taking the song as it is popular here in the United States affords some cultural insights.

Yo soy un hombre sincero
dedonde crece la palma;
y antes morirme quiero
echar mis versos del alma.

Mi verso es de un verde claro
y de un carmen encendido;
mi verso es un ciervo herido
que busca en el monte amparo.

Con los pobres de la tierra
quiero mi suerte echar;
el arroyo de la sierra
me complace mas que el mar.

The lexical items and linguistic structures of these quatrains are fairly simple and quite common. Attention may be called to several: the use of dedonde, the reflexive as an intensifier in morirme, the nominalization envolved in de un verde claro, the past participle herido in comparison with the adjective encendido, the two uses of the -do form, the word order, the comparison in the last line, the figures of speech.

The verses clearly state the poet's need to express himself in poetry and his wish to identify with the majority of his fellow countrymen. There is a certain fatalistic awareness of death. The tone and overall effect of the verses are plaintive, pensive, profound in spite of the apparent simplicity.

The refrain or estribillo (an important technique of Hispanic poetry) is not Marti's creation. It is simple, two words really, that are repeated several times:

Guantanamera, guajira guantanamera,
guantanamera, guajira guantanamera.

Guantanamera means "pertaining to Guantanamo" where the United States still has a military base in Cuba. Note the suffix -era which is used with nouns and adjectives to indicate origin-from, relation-to or occupation, e.g. habanera, aduanero. Guajira is a Cuban word meaning "a Cuban folk song" among other things. Hence it would seem the refrain says: "This is a Cuban folk song." In many ways it is.

B. La cucaracha

The almost endless verses and versions of this Mexican corrido is another example of improvization. Some versions glorify Pancho Villa, the revolutionary bandit-hero whose real name was Doroteo Arango (1877-1923). In general the verses are usually satirical comments on politics and love. They are a mixture of humor and pathos. The song is basically a sad one -- according to all the Mexican renditions and interpretations that I have heard.

One version of this corrido provided the title and storyline of a Mexican film starring Maria Felix, Dolores del Rio, etc. The song and movie are about a campfollower. While la cucaracha literally means "cockroach," it seems to have been an euphemism for such a woman. Only then does the estribillo really make sense:

La cucaracha, la cucaracha,
ya no puedo caminar,
porque no tiene, porque le falta
marijuana que fumar.

This interpretation may be rather embarrassing to many teachers who have used this song in the classroom. Evenso, the song does express the temper of the times around 1910 in Mexico; it reveals the chaos and anarchy that swept through Mexico during that time, shaking, upsetting, destroying social structures to their foundations, namely the family unit. And whether the word *cucaracha* means "campfollower" or not, one is still faced with the use of marijuana that is implied in the song.

In just these few lines — I will not even attempt to comment on the verses because of their number and variations — there are several points worth pondering. While the refrain is made up of alternating ten-syllable and seven-syllable lines, the verses are quatrains of *romance*, i.e., eight-syllable lines, traditional in Hispanic ballads. In the refrain the idiomatic expression *le falta* occurs. These few lines also presuppose a grasp of the subtle difference of the idioms: *tener que fumar marijuana* and *tener marijuana que fumar*.

This folksong, even though I have discussed only the refrain, does provide insight into some aspects of Mexican culture, their heritage and history. It reveals Mexico, the land of contrasts; it uncovers the Mexicans, the people of contrasts.

C. *Adios, muchachos*

This last example is a *tango* from Argentina. It is the "swan-song" of a gaucho who must retire due to ill-health.

Adios, muchachos, companeros de mi vida,
barra querida
de aquellos tiempos.
Me toca a mi emprender la retirada;
debo alejarme de mi buena muchachada.

Adios, muchachos, ya me voy y me resigno;
contra el destino
nadie la talla.
Se terminaron para mi todas las farras;
mi cuerpo enfermo no resiste más.

This *tango* offers a glimpse of *gaucho*-life, especially the close bonds of friendship, the *amiguismo*. The word *barra* means "bar, yoke;" figuratively it implies "team." The words *mi buena muchacha-da* ("that old gang of mine") reinforces this same concept; as does the word *farras* referring to their escapades together.

Several linguistic structures are noteworthy: the idiomatic expression *me toca*, the use of the reflexive to intensify *voy* and *terminaron*, the reflexive as complement of *resigno* and *alejar*, the use of *tallar*..

Like *Guantanamera* and *La cucaracha* this *tango* has an air of sadness. Yet the tone of the folksong is quite different from the other two examples. The melody is somewhat more complicated. There is no estribillo. There is a clear-cut note of fatalism: "contra el destino nadie la talla." There is a fatalistic acceptance of the illness that has altered the gaucho's life. There is an expression of gauchismo, an aspect of Argentine culture.

CONCLUSION

The examples and especially the interpretation of these examples that I have ventured here are debatable. But they are only examples. The point at issue, the point I have tried to make, remains: Latin American music, especially the folksongs, affords not merely a change of pace or a bit of culture. They afford a deep insight into the heritage and history of the Latin American peoples. They express and reveal the culture of Latin America.

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8

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES IN PROGRAMS FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING AMERICANS

Guillermo De Hoogh
James McClafferty

A lively discussion has been under way in Michigan, and surely in other parts of the country, as to what is an appropriate cultural content in educational offerings for Spanish-speaking Americans. This controversy began as the need for new programs, especially bilingual programs, became more generally acknowledged. A second cause is the recent realization that understanding one's cultural identity through a study of his heritage is sometimes vital in disloading feelings of inferiority.[1] Long term outcomes sought from the conservation of bilingual and bicultural backgrounds are such mutual benefits to these children and to their country as worthy citizenship, and a viable cultural pluralism rather than mere folkloric shreds.

During the planning stage of the Hispano-American Language and Culture Program (described below) whose development was begun in Michigan by Foreign Language Innovative Curricula

Studies (a statewide Title III, ESEA, project), it was necessary to establish an appropriate approach and a significant content for the new course. The task was undertaken since existing instructional materials neither focus on the particular needs of the Spanish-speaking Americans, nor are geared to the language skills they possess.[2] Several procedures in choosing goals and in developing sequences of instruction for these students were tried. For example, a topic analysis of many Spanish foreign language anthology and civilization texts yielded these most frequently used categories: art, music, architecture, dance, history, geography, government, economy, literature, education, the conquest, customs, emigration, language, cuisine, festivities, entertainment, youth, sports, legends, letter-writing, vacations, and so on. This list was circulated to some fifty teachers and consultants on Latin American affairs. The responses to the survey did not identify any trend among preferences. Socio-cultural categories were ranked very high, but so were most of the others. Several other discipline-oriented approaches were also considered—historical, the sociological, the sociopolitical and the sociocultural.

The beginning high school course called Hispano-American Language and Culture is based on the assumption that a special program for Spanish-background children is needed in order to enable them to:

1. Maintain and expand their Spanish language skills so as to become literate and to demonstrate a proficiency in the four fundamental language skills:
    a. They will be able to understand with ease different varieties and levels of standard speech.
    b. They will be able to adapt their speech to different language levels, such as informal, formal, and intergroup.
    c. They will be able to read with understanding.
    d. They will be able to write a "free composition" with clarity and correctness in vocabulary, idiom and syntax.

2. Know significant features of the countries where the language is spoken. These include geographical and socio-economic attributes, contemporary values, and behavior patterns.

3. Know significant humanistic achievements of the countries in question.

4. Realize that their native language is an asset to themselves and society.

5. Demonstrate increased interest in studying the language and the social aspects of these countries, and in the humanities in general.

The content of the student materials resolved itself into a choice between (1) a systematic study beginning with the development of civilizations in Middle America and their subsequent determination of the Hispano-American influence in the United States or (2) some modification or imitation of the typical topic areas of texts on another civilization. It was finally decided that the focus on one major conceptual structure had more likelihood of making a lasting change in student behavior. Instrumental in this decision was the advice of a number of specialists and, in particular, that of our major consultant, a cultural anthropologist who is a Mexican-American himself.

Mere relevance was considered too ephemeral a basis on which to build a connection between the cultural identity of the Spanish-speaking child in the United States and the solid achievements of his distant and recent ancestors. It was also felt that the single cultural and historical theme could be more intellectually rewarding than a disconnected set of topics lacking both sequence and continuity. Finally then, it was decided that one viable way for the Spanish-speaking student in the United States to acquire a deeper understanding of his cultural identity is for him to study the engrossing story that traces the cultural development of the Spanish-speaking American. This story includes both the continuities and the discontinuities within the processes of growth and extinction of those civilizations whose greatness is part of his heritage.

The new materials in development for secondary level students of Spanish-speaking background have been named The Hispano-American Language and Culture program. It is being tried at a number of levels in several Michigan schools. Its development was begun in Michigan by Foreign Language Innovative Curricula Studies. Plans call for the extension of the present one-year-course to two years of work. This new program was designed to provide students, first, with a means of maintaining and developing language skills in "standard" Spanish, especially reading and writing: and, second, with a means of understanding their cultural identity by acquiring knowledge of their heritage.

That is to say, early Middle American cultures and Hispano-American migration and influence in the United States.

The cultural content of the course centers on the major events and processes of the pre-history and history of Middle Americans and their subsequent determination of the Hispano-American influence in the United States. The following divisions are used:

I. "Populating the New World"

II. "The Food Producing Revolution"

III. "The Rise and Development of Middle American Civilization"

IV. "The Conquest and Colonization"

V. "The War of Independence, Building Nations and Modern Revolutions"

VI. "Spanish American Influence in the United States"

Under each of these headings, the general nature and character of the events are first described, and then put into a larger context, e.g., explaining the concepts used and describing generally what was happening in the rest of the world. In addition, attention is paid to three types of factors underlying each of these categories of events or epochs: geographical, cultural, and social and political conditions.

What follows is a somewhat more detailed description of what is emphasized as the major focus under each of the sub-headings listed above.

I. Populating the New World:
   a. Man, not indigenous to the new world
   b. The racial composition and characteristics of the first migrants
   c. Their general level of cultural development, their social organization, and the relevant aspects of their technology which served to exploit the food resources
   d. The role played by geography and climate

II. The Food Producing Revolution:
   a. The invention of agriculture and the particular food complex of Middle America
   b. The types of food and animals domesticated

  - c. The circumstances leading to these discoveries and their dispersion
  - d. The radical shift in way of life, division labor, population size, patterns of settlement, social, religious and political organization

III. The Rise and Development of Middle American Civilization:
  - a. The appearance and variation in the characteristics of the Middle American pre-Cortesian civilizations
  - b. Their sequence of developments and changes, particularly as they help explain and describe the establishment of the various cultural groups found by the conquistadores

IV. The Conquest and Colonization:
  - a. The specific historical events and personalities involved in the Spanish Conquest of the major pre-Cortesian empires
  - b. The different policies adopted by the Crown, the Church, and the conquering enterpreneurs towards the various groups, as well as the influence of some personalities on these policies
  - c. The effect of geography in determining areas of population concentration for use by the Spaniards, and areas of economic interest
  - d. Geography's role in helping shape the future of Middle America, by the barriers it imposed upon unification, and the regionalism it fostered, evident in the political subdivisions of today
  - e. The interplay between the Spanish and the indigenous cultures (religion, philosophy or view of life and man, economic and social organization, architecture, cuisine) leading to the distinctive traits of Latin America, evident today in Mexico and most of Central America

V. Independence. The National-Building Processes and Modern Revolutions:
  - a. The general and specific historical processes and events by which the countries of Middle America gained their independence from Spain and have, with varying degrees of success, striven to attain nationhood
  - b. The role played by popular, social and military revolutions in this nation-building process
  - c. The problems and particular patterns demonstrated by Middle American countries in their attempts to achieve "modernization"

VI. Hispano-American Influence in the United States:
(title tentative)
The outline of this unit is still in the discussion stage.
The unit will have several chapters, probably paralleling general historical periods.

Readers interested in additional information concerning the new materials in development -- Hispano-American Language and Culture -- may wish to contact the Lansing School District, Michigan. The lesson units, which are being tried there, are available for examination. Interested teachers are invited to use them with secondary level students of bilingual background. Comment and suggestions for improvement are requested. The advice of teachers and Spanish-American specialists has been followed consistently.

The timetable of development of the HALC materials calls for the first version of this two-year program of 'Spanish language skill development within the context of the cultural heritage of the Spanish-speaking American' to be ready in June 1970.

* * * * *

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

Perhaps the most useful brief set of references to available information on Spanish-speaking Americans, considering that few if any instructional materials are extant, may be located in the publications of the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Suite 550, Commodore Perry Hotel, Austin, Texas 78701; ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools (CRESS), New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico, 88001; and Teacher Corps: Rural-Migrant Education of Mexican-Americans, School of Education, Unversity of Southern California, Los Angeles, 90007.

FOOTNOTES

[1] However little alleviated it may be to date, the degree of under-achievement caused by linguistic and cultural difference that affects a sizeable proportion of the several millions of these children is becoming better understood. For instance, it is now widely known that the school drop-out rate of Spanish-speaking children is the highest of any minority group. An obvious advantage of bilingual programs is that a student's conceptual development can continue in his mother tongue while he learns English as a second language. In addition, the mantenance of bilingual skills has occupational and personal values.

[2] Commenting on the lack of instructional materials and the decision to use foreign language texts to teach bilingual children, Fishman notes that methods and materials geared to teach monolinguals are least successful when used with students who possess competence in a second language based upon out of school experiences.

9

SUBSTANDARD SPANISH IN THE ANTILLES, FACT OR FICTION? : PUERTO RICO, A CASE IN POINT

John Brunetti

_____/Ay virgen, mi cahro no ahranca / Dios mío/
/Que voyacer/
_____ Bamo a coger el de Yuyo. /Mihra ayí en lo altoh/
_____ ¿A donde?
_____ Ayí/ No lo veh en el mirador?
_____ Ah sí. ¡Que hraro! El rótulo dice:

APARTAMENTO
O MUEBLAO
O FORNIAO

_____/Berdad compadre, que nuehtro hermanoh por acá
hablan así/
_____ Pue algunoh sí y otroh no/

"Did you hear that? What horrible Spanish they speak!"
"Yes, in our classes they're forbidden to speak anything so substandard. We even have signs in the corridor forbidding it."

Heard these dialogues in your area lately? Many administrators and educators have championed this well intended misinformation unfortunately provided by those people who should be most knowledgeable in this area: THE LANGUAGE TEACHER. Superintendents and principals are innocent victims. Children suffer. Those who should be able to supply information often supply misinformation because of their own professional inadequacies.

Colleges and universities that prepare high school teachers and administrators do not have a curriculum in keeping with the educational needs of urban society today. In general, high school Spanish teachers study literature. Courses in cultural anthropology, linguistics and dialectology are lacking as curriculum prerequisites in most colleges that prepare students for high school teaching. Select places like the University of Chicago, The University of Rochester, the Universities of Illinois and Ohio and a few others in the country have excellent curricula relevant to present needs. The majority do not.

After 70 years why do we find so many professional people uninformed about conditions and life in Puerto Rico? Ignorance. Disinterest. Self-perpetuating myths of backwardness and poverty, underscored by recent migrations. Plus the consequences of a Spanish country in culture and speech being dominated by a powerful Anglo-Saxon culture whose envoys are often negatively prejudiced. The criticism upon the negative effects of American influences in Puerto Rico has often been rank and strong. The issue has frequently been a political question – easy to attack and hard to defend largely because of the negative aspects of our American life so profusely diffused through negative journalism throughout the world.

In the political milieu it has frequently been easy to cast inflammatory epithets that have, under the banner of transculturization, nationalism and independence damaged the self-image of the pearl of the Antilles. At the basis of these verbal attacks one finds not only the misunderstanding of one culture but of two. This involves precisely the inability to perceive cultural thorns and barbs that innocently annoy and molest those of the other culture. This is a bilateral problem. Frequently, neither group is willing to recognize those things which annoy the other.

Very often, such epithets have concerned themselves with language problems in Puerto Rico. Many have damned this or that aspect of Puerto Rican syntax, pronunciation and vocabulary, but few have really investigated thoroughly such problems with scientific methods, which are free of emotional feelings of nationalism. Only scientific studies of anthropological linguistic attitude can rid the hispanophile of erroneous myths perpetuated, too many times, by well-meaning teachers who are ignorant of the cultural realities that actually exist on the distant isle.

Before beginning any treatise about the kind of Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico, it is requisite to know the following historical facts.

1. That on the island of Puerto Rico they speak Spanish and Spanish is the idiom of instruction in the public schools and universities. (Some private schools do teach in English and employ American teachers.)

2. That with the exception of one newspaper, all the media of modern communication employ Spanish: radio, television, newspaper, etc. At least five channels telecast in excellent "standard" Spanish all day, while dozens of radio stations offer the most remote family the opportunity to hear samples of good Spanish in music and dialogue from several Latin American countries. (Only three radio stations and one television channel transmit in English for military personnel and Continentals living on the island.)

3. That the language of the conquering country and its social habits have always been a highly emotional target in the political life of Puerto Rico.

4. That neither in Puerto Rico nor in the Antilles is substandard Spanish spoken as many renowned professors and writers in Hispanic countries believe. This is obviously false when one realizes that all countries have thousands of persons who employ diatectal jargon indicative of social group and geographic area. This is as true of every country of South America as well as of its neighbors to the North.

5. That it is impossible to assess the tremendous positive impact that the multiplicity of radio and television sets have had on upgrading speech, diction and usage. Archaic and rural phonological patterns and morphological patterns have disappeared at an alarming rate. Rarely are they heard among the younger set. Undoubtedly schools and the communication media have effected these changes.

6. That the social-linguistic culture of Puerto Rico is not the conglomerate and varied population of

metropolitan San Juan. Nor is it that of the "agringados" who return to live in their homeland after having acquired other values and loose speech habits of the national enclave abroad.

7. That Puerto Rico has the highest literacy rate of all of Latin America. Over ninety-three percent of the mature population is literate.[1] This rate is probably higher than recent literacy rates in large sectors of the American continent.

8. That the total culture profile of Puerto Rico lies in its daily customs, life styles and value schema found in towns, villages and hamlets of the haciendas. Here one finds well entrenched the roots of a culture, relatively free from the contagion and influence of imported life styles and values.

9. That since 1951, Puerto Rico is a "commonwealth" state freely associated with the United States.

If we are to say that Puerto Rican Spanish is substandard, as many administrators and educators believe, we would then have to say that all Cubans speak substandard Spanish. That Colombians speak substandard Spanish. That Panamanians speak substandard Spanish. And that Venezuelans speak substandard Spanish together with the Dominicans and half of Ecuador, Peru and Chile. But we refrain from this. And, in terms of its neighbors, Puerto Rico is no linguistic oddity. Why should it be?

Let us consider Puerto Rican speech in relation to the phonological patterns of other countries of Latin American. Its coastal plain exhibits all of the more recent trends of the past century which form the character of the speech found in countries whose beaches are washed by Caribbean water and, in addition, has had the longest period of social and commercial intercourse with the mother country. The speech of the interior of Puerto Rico exhibits to this day some of the most conservative forms of Spanish; the same traits that exist in northern highland Mexico. Both areas had long periods of isolation from the mainstream of national life. Rarely do we discredit the Spanish as spoken in that part of Mexico in this country; but on the other hand we almost never fail to indict the language as spoken in Puerto Rico. Lenghty studies of these forms of pronunciation have been treated in depth by Alvarez Nazario in his work El arcaísmo vulgar en el español de Puerto Rico.

It is interesting that the areas of costeño or Caribbean speech habits extend farther than the Caribbean region and are found in large coastal areas remote from Caribbean waters. The coastal area of Vera Cruz in Mexico is a prime example. The Pacific coastlines of Colombia and Ecuador are remarkably interesting in similarity to the dialectal character and patterns of speech in Cuba, Venezuela or even the Vera Cruz area cited.

Vera Cruz is located in a coastal lowland area largely populated from the beginning by andaluces directly associated with the maritime commerce of Spain which provided communication and continual contact with the mother country. Proceeding inland from the ocean, the mountains rise quickly and abruptly as in Ecuador and Peru as well. Here a different Spaniard had immigrated and settled at a much earlier period. Such areas often had crystalized set patterns of speech by the end of the sixteenth century. This may seem a remarkable feat considering that Cortez only conquered Mexico in 1521. Without large groups of "immigrating intruders" and the electronic gadgetry of mass communication the speech patterns and cultural habits of original settlers can remain undisturbed and unchallenged for centuries.

As we know, laymen expound upon the clarity of speech in Colombia, unknown and not realizing that Colombia has at least four major dialects. One of these dialects is located along the northern and western coasts and can be loosely labeled "costeño," the very language called substandard in reference to Puerto Rico. Literati from Chile and Argentina expound on the oddities of language heard in Mexico such as camotes and elote while failing to consider the indigenismos that abound in their own countries. Why these were household words that one grew up with! Both Chile and Argentina reveal at least five dialects of their own.[2] Central Chile exhibits phonological traits remarkably similar to the "costeño" areas. Among these are:

1. Confusion of the r for l as in Puerto Rico.
2. The same articulation of the /y/ as in Puerto Rico.
3. Aspiration or loss of final s of the syllable which is heard aspirated among the more educated social strata of Puerto Rico and omitted by others. Language not only varies in geographic areas but varies vertically from plan to plane within the social stratum of the demographic units of a given region.
4. The dorsal alveolar articulation of s which is the general manner of articulation found in most of Puerto Rico.[3]
5. Reduction or loss of the intervocalic /d/ which corresponds to the same evolutionary pattern in Puerto Rico.

6. The conversion of the /r̄/ and of /tr̄/ to [r̄̌] and [tr̄̌] to the sibilant form found in Guatemala, Costa Rica and New Mexico. In western Puerto Rico the articulation of this phoneme evolved into the velar /r /, at times uvular.[4] This allophonic variation is probably the most conspicuous sound of Puerto Rican speech.

That the phoneme /r̄/ is restless and variant in its articulation is rarely considered by instructors. Teachers of Spanish spend hours with their students drilling and trilling /r̄/, yet seldom comment that variants exist and are used by millions of people.

This is not intended to be a complete description of Chilean speech nor an exhaustive study of the dialectal traits of a given area of that country. These points, arbitrarily selected, serve solely to illustrate the varied nature of Spanish spoken in Latin America and the peninsula as well. Note that five of the six points list more recent evolutionary trends in pronunciation more closely associated with *costeño* patterns present in the Antilles and Caribbean areas.[5]

Is the speech of Colombia to be condemned because the articulation of Spanish phonemes varies from one area to another? Is one of the dialects of this area to be labeled standard and the others ranked as not quite up to standard or are they to be listed in various degrees of standarization? Truly in 1970 our expertise and knowledge should indicate that with the wide and varied development and trends in language development we can no longer perpetuate prejudicial myths that in Northern Mexico substandard Spanish is spoken or that Andalusian speech is substandard and that only Castilian should be taught and spoken; for even Castilian has its variants both geographically and demographically.

We are concerned here only with Puerto Rican Spanish as it affects high school and college teachers. It is safe to say that the largest number of these teachers learned what Spanish they know in the era of textbook grammar translation tradition and the pronunciation of Spanish words was taught by individuals who often had never heard the Spanish language. Pronunciation followed the so-called Castilian guide with which we are all familiar. Recent innovations in jet travel facilities have diminshed the number of these teachers, but their students with well entrenched notions of what constitutes "proper" Spanish pronunciation still abound in number. No wonder then that these very teachers are shocked and bewildered by Antillean Spanish when hearing it for the first time. What many do not realize is that with exposure to the few phonological patterns which differ in the dialect, understanding such speech becomes a relatively simple task.

As of 1955 ten investigations of a rigorous scientific nature have been completed in the various geographic districts of Puerto Rico. These investigations have largely supported and substantiated the findings of Tomas Navarro Tomas' monumental work El español en Puerto Rico, a study that took more than two years to accomplish more than thirty-five years ago.

Listed below are the linguistic traits that are general to most of the inhabitants of the island of Puerto Rico. They are the principal phonemic traits that probably offer the most comprehensive difficulty for Americans.

1. The aspiration or omission of the final s of a syllable.

/ehtoh ð̌oh son loh mioh/

2. The dorsal alveolar articulation of s is general in Puerto Rico and easily reproduced by most Americans. Other interesting articulations such as apical alveolar forms are sporadically heard but are part of the popular habit.[6]

3. The dropping of the intervocalic /ð̌/, converting the two remaining vowels into a diphthong.

pescado>/pehka͜o/ hablado>/ að̌lá͜o/

4. El yeísmo. This is the highly africative sound of ll and y which is common either in its less exaggerated manifestation or more exaggerated manifestation in practially all of Spanish speaking South America with the exception of the altiplano running from Colombia through Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. In the highland area the more archaic sixteenth centur form heard in highland Mexico is used. This is the form most commonly taught in the United States at this time.

yerba > /y̌eɣba/
lluvia > /y̌ub ia/
llame > /y̌ame/
yugo > /y̌ugo/

5. Ultra correction and/or equalization of the l and r. Usually in Puerto Rico this results in the confusion and substitution of l for r. In some of the studies recently completed in Puerto Rico, a few cases have been noted, among illiterates, where the r is substituted for l -- a rather interesting manifestation of ultracorrection, as in comió el durce tan lico.

/kedó aβiélta la pwélta/

6. The most characteristic phoneme of Puerto Rican phonophonology is the velar /ʁ/ voiced or unvoiced. It is found throughout the island and is more exaggerated in its articulation in the western sector. This manifestation does not seem to have Spanish antecedents. However the sound has been recognized in Cuba, Santo Domingo and on the coasts of Colombia and Venezuela; it is also a trait very characteristic of southern Portugal and the Carioca region of Brazil. Much has been said of the African or origin of this sound. Therefore it is interesting to note that the investigations of Carmen Mauleon de Benitez reveal the greatest adherence and tenacity to the multiple tapped Spanish /r/ in the most heavily concentrated Negro areas of Puerto Rico, such as Loiza Aldea -- thus dispelling this premise.[7]

7. Final d in words like verdad, libertad and the like is dropped or slightly aspirated.

/beʁdáh/ or /beʁdáð/
/liβeʁtáh/ or /liβeʁtáð/

The aspiration of the h had its own proper day in the phonology of the sixteenth century, before the rise of the new phoneme for j with the sound analagous to h. The archaic h has left abundant remains within the popular speech of Hispanic American countries. Some of the senior citizens living in the more remote areas of rural Puerto Rico offer abundant proof of this statement. The younger generation, however, is never heard aspirating the h. This is supported by at least four recent investigations.[8] The speech of the younger generation is as modern as that of Madrid, Lima or Guadalajara.

Archaic Form	harto	/jaʁto/
	hambre	/jambʁe/

8. Among rural groups visitors will note immediately the tendency to velarize the lateral phonemes, especially the exaggerated velarization of /n/. In popular parlance this is regarded as nasality.

/koŋ ke komjéʁoŋ číle koŋ káʁŋe/

9. In some hamlets of the cordillera central the articulation of labial dental /v/ has been recorded by investigators. Usually this is thought of as an American influence. However, we should be aware that labial dental /v/ was present in a major part of Spain

> until the end of the sixteenth century. In the North the fricative was pronounced bilabially and was confused with /b/. According to Canfield this northern tendency could have extended to the South and by means of commerce and immigration to Latin America.[9] Settlers and colonists who arrived before the end of the sixteenth century brought a labial dental /v/ with them from their native homestead in Spain. It was this writer's experience to observe the articulation of this phoneme precisely in those remote areas, long isolated from American influence. It was in these sectors that the greatest number of archaic lexical and morphological forms were heard (ansina for así and truje for traje, etc.) Not only is labial dental /v/ still present among mature citizens but also the aspirated /h/ as well. By way of clarification it is here emphasized that the bilabial form is the form common to the vast majority of the population in Puerto Rico and the labial dental form is most often heard in the pronunciation of those who have lived on the continent for extended periods.

Knowing these points of difference and training one's ears to the speed of Antillian Spanish should make comprehension of this dialect less difficult.

All areas have their own evolutionary pattern of language development. New words are constantly being created. Semantic distinctions vary within each evolutionary cycle; form and texture of expression today often being modified by influences of other tongues. The home dialect has prestige and is socially acceptable. The inhabitants of an area never realize that they speak a dialect. "Dialects are spoken by other people!"

Professor Canfield says that "one can not establish Hispanic American zones of pronunciation that correspond to the actual political entities. The Hispanic zones of pronunciation correspond in general to the accessibility of the territory populated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By topographical accident, the highland regions generally represented the principal beginnings and the coasts the actual language in development.[10]

Puerto Rico, as in the cases of Chile and Argentina previously cited, reflects the rapid ongoing evolution of language in a literate, modern country. It is not a linguistic oddity.

Notes

1. Personal interview with Dr. Ramón Mellado, Secretary of Education, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico on April 29, 1969.

2. Consult a good map of South America.

3. T. Navarro Tomás insisted in his study of 1928 that the dental apical /s/ was more common to most speakers. Cf. *El español en Puerto Rico*, (Río Piedras, 1966), 68-70. See Canfield, D. Lincoln, *La pronunciación del español en América*, (Bogota, 1962), 99, map II; 78-81.

4. Cerezo de Ponce, E., *Estudio lingüístico de Aguadilla*, unpublished doctoral thesis, (University of Puerto Rico, 1966.) Chapter II. Also Rosario, Rubén del, *La lengua de Puerto Rico en problemas de lectura y lengua*, (San Juan, 1948), 133-145.

5. This information is based on the patterns of dialectology in the linguistic atlas by D. Lincon Canfield, *op. cit.*

6. Ramírez de Arellano noted this pronunciation in Guaynabo, *El español de Guaynabo*, 145. This investigator noted the same phoneme among mature citizens of Hatillo and Camuey.

7. Personal interview with the investigator Carmen Mauleon de Benítez on March 25, 1969. This remarkable study is on file in Madrid and Río Piedras, Puerto Rico.

8. Four recent investigations concerning Puerto Rican dialectology that bear examining are: The major study by Edwin Figueroa Berrios, *La zona lingüística de Cayey*. This study covers more than one-sixth of the total area of the island; Engracia Cerezo de Ponce, *op. cit.*; Carmen Santos, *Estudio lingüístico de la zona de Utuado*; Rafael Ramírez de Arellano, *op. cit.*; also the recently terminated studies of María Vaquero de Ramírez, which include the areas of Barranquitas bear mentioning.

9. Canfield, D. Lincoln, *op. cit.*, 69.

10. Ibid., 96.

10

A NORTH AMERICAN VIEW OF A CONGRESS ON ADULT EDUCATION HELD IN CARACAS, VENEZUELA

William F.Marquardt

I had sent a telegram the day before from Miami to Dr. Félix Adam, Chairman of the Extraordinary Congress of Adult Educators, saying I was arriving in Caracas at 5:30 p.m., May 22, 1969, on the VIASA flight. At the airport clearance through customs was swift for the handful of passengers leaving the big Boeing jet. But where was Dr. Adam? His telegram with air tickets and flight instructions in Urbana two days before had said that I would be met at the airport, if I wired flight number and date.

When I asked at one of the counters how I might get in touch with Dr. Adam a number of bystanders offered a variety of services — taxi, guide-service, interpretation — but none of them had any idea how I might contact Dr. Adam. Finally I learned where I might make a telephone call into the city. Félix Adam was listed in the directory. On my first try, to my surprise, there was a woman's voice on the other end.

"Oh Dr. Marquardt, we are waiting for you!" it said in vibrant English when I identified myself in Spanish and asked for Dr. Adam. She was Dr. Adam's assistant. No, they hadn't received my telegram. Could I wait about forty minutes for her and the driver to pick me up? "Bueno, muchas gracias. Hasta luego," I said.

The forty minutes went fast with the help of a tall young Negro from the West Indies. Offering his services, he evaded my efforts to talk to him in Spanish, finally asking bluntly why I wanted to talk in Spanish when he knew English so well. Chastened, I returned to English and learned about his experiences in Venezuela, his helpfulness to Americans, and his hopes of studying in the United States. Then an attractive, tanned blond in her mid-thirties appeared in the telephone service room. Walking straight to me as if she knew me, she said she was Miss Carmen Campos, assistant of Dr. Adam.

I thanked the young man and countered his request for money by writing my name and address on a piece of paper and saying I would try to help him get to study in the United States if he wrote to me.

Miss Campos led me to a car waiting outside. The driver, a young man of about thirty, put my bags into the trunk.

I commented to Miss Campos that I had noticed large headlines in the Caracas *Nacional* about student demonstrations and shooting. Yes, she said. It had been a tragic day. Sadness now hung over the Congress. That very afternoon a younger brother of Dr. Adam, Alex, a law student at the University of Caracas and president of the Federacion de Centros Universitarios (FCU), a moderate faction of the student body, had been shot in a demonstration against the university administration by members of an activist group. Alex's condition was critical and so instead of helping set the tone for a happy opening day, Dr. Adam had rushed to the hospital to be at his brother's side and to comfort his brother's wife and their three small children.

Miss Campos apologized for my not having been met at the airport: there had been no telegram regarding my time of arrival. I explained in turn that I had not been able to come the day before the opening of the Congress, as their telegram had urged, because the message had been garbled. By the time I had deciphered it I had missed my chance to connect with the Miami flight to Caracas.

The other Americans invited to the Congress, Miss Campos said, had come a few days earlier. I had learned from Dr. Richard W. Cortright, Director of the NFA Adult Education Clearinghouse in Washington, D.C., that Donald Wood of the Department of Adult Education of the State of New York in Albany would be present, but now I learned for the first time that Dr. George Aker, President of the Adult Education Association of the United States and Chairman of the

Department of Adult Education of Florida State University at Tallahassee, Fred Valentine of the Department of Adult Education of Fairley Dickinson University, Dr. Paul Sheats, Chairman of the Department of Adult Education at the University of California, Los Angeles and his wife June, also a professor of adult education, were also participants at the Congress.

How were the Americans faring in the give and take? Was their Spanish good enough for them to understand what was being said in the meetings and to communicate their own ideas? No problem, Miss Campos assured me. It was her job to translate what was being said into English for the Americans and what the Americans contributed into Spanish. Working papers by Venezuelan participants had been translated into English for the Americans, including my own "Creating Empathy Through Literature between Mainstream and Minority Culture Disadvantaged Learners" had been translated into Spanish.

But weren't the Americans severely handicapped, despite Miss Campos' skill in English, if they had to depend on her entirely for what was being said in the working sessions, since the exchanges must at times be rather spirited and swift-moving? I wondered if my Spanish might be good enough after some practice conversing with Venezuelans to enable me to carry on tomorrow without help from an interpreter. Would she mind if we switched to Spanish for a while? She seemed delighted. Though she complimented me on my Spanish, she managed to get back into English frequently. So I found myself at times carrying on in Spanish without my model to reinforce me.

I had come just in time to participate in the program for the evening — a tour for the Americans of the evening classes of one of the schools for adult women, the Centro de Capacitación Femenina de Isabel Fajardo. There was time only to wash my hands before joining the rest of the Americans.

The tour was dazzling. We saw well-dressed, attractive, vibrant women, young and old, enthusiastically absorbed in painting, hair-dressing, flower-arranging, sewing, ceramics, embroidery, cooking, baking, modern dance, ballet, play-production, and many other crafts. When I asked them questions about what they were doing they answered graciously. Their clear melodious Spanish made the experience unforgettable.

The tour ended with a party for us, the instructors, and some of the students. Everything served had been made by the students. From the main dish of baked rice and chicken to a variety of salads and pastries, culminating in a thick rum-spiced drink that had required more than an hour's beating, it was all delicious.

Finally it was time to retire. We were taken to an elegant modern hotel near the center of the city to which the other visiting educators had also been assigned. It was swarming with young Americans who had arrived a few hours earlier as members of a large touring group.

The next morning after a typical American breakfast we were taken to the Escuela Normal de Miguel Antonio Caro, a spacious school with walled gardens and polished tables and chairs. There I learned that some 250 educators of adults from all parts of Venezuela had been divided into five working-commissions charged with creating policy for the guidance of educators in Venezuela and Latin America as a whole.

The Americans and Carmen Campos found themselves in Commission One dealing with "Fundamentos Filosóficos" (Philosophical Foundations). The other commissions dealt with (2) "La Organización de Adultos y Sistema Educativo," (3) "Areas y Contenido de la Educación de Adultos." (4) "Prioridades y Programs de Educación de Adultos," (5) "Bases para la Formulación de una Política de Educación de Adultos."

The working sessions were conducted in an atmosphere rather different from that which would prevail in an analogous situation in the United States. They were more formal, more ritualistic. Although the mimeographed paper in the hands of each participant in advance was the starting point, each paper was read orally to the participants as they followed on their own copies. The reading was not done by the author of the paper even though he was present in each case. It was done generally by a young man or woman assistant to one of the participants in the session.

After the reading, discussion began. Each discussant sought permission to speak from the chairman. The points made were not so much questions triggered by something not understood or objected to in the paper as thought-out positions on the part of the participants to be added to the ideas presented in the paper. Sometimes the discussant held the floor for quite a while and spoke with passion, but dignity and decorum prevailed.

The Americans trying to follow Miss Campos' interpretations of what was being said above the sounds of the discussion itself were not in a good position to contribute meaningfully, but they made modest attempts to do so. At one point where several of the discussants had been emphasizing the importance of making adult education policies contribute to coping with the nation's social and political problems Paul Sheats ventured the reminder already presented in his translated mimeographed working paper under the title "La Importancia de la Educacion de Adultos en las Sociedades en Desarrollo" — that the most urgent task in developing adult education policy is to foster in the individual adult learner maximum personal growth in skills, in self-knowledge, and in sense of his own worth as an individual. When invited to make my contribution I decided with some trepidation to try it in Spanish. I suggested that in addition to skills and knowledge the adult learner in this age of increasing cross-culture interaction should be taught to cultivate sensitivity to the ways of thinking and feeling of persons different from themselves in background and culture. I indicated that this could be done through selecting from creative writing, cross-culture-interaction situations to be the basis for teaching the desired insight and for the creation of new literature to extend understanding in this area to adult learners. I also pointed out how development of this kind of sensitivity in adult learners could motivate many not reached by more usual rewards and reinforcements to pursue understandings and skills that would increase their options in life.

The description of the discussion in the working session attended by the Americans suggests that the policies generated in these sessions would be more an ordering of priorities among policies already formulated than a discovery of new concepts triggered by brainstorming. The full and detailed "recomendaciones" presented in plenary session throughout the final day of the Congress do have an orderly look. The way they were presented to and approved by the four or five hundred participants was also orderly. They were read from the platform, point by point, with Dr. Adam presiding over discussion rising from the floor. A signal to read the next recommendation was indication that consensus had been reached in the point under discussion.

Recommendations were presented and approved under four main headings: I General Principles; II Areas and Content of Adult Education; III Means of Implementation; IV Economic Considerations.

The five recommendations under General Principles can be summed up as committing the system of adult education in Venezuela to preserving national traditions and cultural values and at the same time being receptive to universal values, to giving individual adults opportunities for continuing education within practical limits, to adapting itself to the overall plan for the social and economic development of the nation while at the same time pursuing diversity in methods and content, and to assuming a higher priority in the general education system of the nation.

In the category of Areas and Content, four recommendations dealt with committing the system to helping the individual preserve his health, improve his participation in family life, improve himself culturally, make good use of his free time, participate in the cultural and professional needs of his region, contribute to the feeling of national unity, and cope with the problems of youth.

The third category, dealing with means of implementing the foregoing recommendations contained some twenty provisions. They can be summarized as calling for new laws and new bureaucratic structures to give higher priority to adult education, to improve media of social communication, to foster research, to establish in the universities education programs for adults and for the training of teachers of adults, to give professional status to adult educators, to provide resources and training for increased use of audiovisual techniques in adult education, to increase the activities of centers of adult education and of the Centro Regional de Educación de Adultos (CREA), and to coordinate the efforts of the high-level planning institutes in establishing an institute for the education of blind adults.

Under the heading Economic Considerations there were three recommendations: a) that all organizations and offices involved in the education of adults be coordinated and integrated so that duplication of effort be avoided, b) that a salary scale be prepared for adult educators corresponding to the technical competence demanded of them, c) that the national government be petitioned to provide a greater budget for adult education so that more imagination programs can be created to bring all adults into all areas of national development.

Presentation and approval of the slate of recommendations went forward without a hitch until one of the more volatile participants, Professor Francisco J. Avila of the University of Carabobo, tried to introduce a resolution from the floor. Arguing that giving disadvantaged adults remedial training to equip them for some particular job or role is no longer considered the main function of education for adults or for children, he proposed that the best way to bring about a more up-to-date attitude in educators and laymen would be to change the title of the national Oficina de Educación de Adultos to Oficina de Educación Permanente. He put this proposal in the form of a resolution to be presented to the Minister of Education. It provoked heated discussion and was finally tabled to permit further study as to the timeliness of such a change.

A more momentous but less stirring proposal was one made by Dr. Félix Adam. It was that in this Congress an Inter-American Federation for Adult Education be initiated. The idea of such an organization had been discussed for years between leaders in the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. and in Latin America. Latin American educators working with such organizations as Departamento de Asuntos Educativos of the Organización de los Estados Americanos (OES), with such

UNESCO-based offices as the Centro Regional de la Educación Fundamental (CREFAL) in Pátzcuaro, Mexico; Oficina de Educación Iberoamericana (OEI) in Madrid, Spain; and Centro Regional de Educación de Adultos (CREA) in Caracas; and with national government organizations, such as Asociación Nacional de Educadores de Adultos (ANEA); Oficina de Educación de Adultos (ODEA); and Instituto Nacional de Cooperación Educativa (INCE), all three based in Caracas, had in periodic conferences over the post-war years[1] expressed the need of such an organization to coordinate developments in adult education in Latin American countries with parallel developments in the rest of the hemisphere.

Dr. Adam had, in collaboration with such leaders as Dr. Aníbal Buitron and Dr. Pierre Furter, both of UNESCO, Hugo Gil Colmenares of CREA, and others, and in consultation with Dr. Richard W. Cortright, Director of the NEA Adult Education Clearinghouse, set the stage for a group of educators at the Congress to draft a constitution for the projected Inter-American Federation for Adult Education. Dr. George Aker of Florida State University, in his capacity as president of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., made a statement to the plenary session of the Congress expressing the high hopes he and his fellow educators in America had for the future of the IFAE and their readiness to cooperate in every way possible in a global attack on the problems facing adult education in Latin America.

The main goal of the IFAE, as reflected in the "Provisional Status" prepared for the Congress, is to bring about unity of effort in adult educational matters in Latin American countries. IFAE is to organize adult education associations in countries where there are none, promote exchange of information about developments in adult education in the various countries, promote campaigns to improve adult education and literacy education in the various countries, and collaborate with international organizations in carrying out technical assistance programs. The statutes also spell out the governing bodies and officers of the IFAE and their functions.

The headquarters of the Executive Committee of the IFAE are initially slated to be in Caracas. An English translation of the constitution of the projected IFAE, entitled "Provisional Statutes of the Inter-American Federation for Adult Education," is available from the NEA Adult Education Clearinghouse (1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036).

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[1] For an account of such conferences that had a bearing on literary and adult education in Latin America, see R.W. Cortright and W.F. Marquardt, "Review of Contemporary Research on Literary and Adult Education in Latin America," *LARR* 3, iii (1968): 47-69.

The culminating event for the Americans and other visitors to the Congress was a dinner at which they had a chance to meet key persons in the Venezuelan government and in the Ministry of Education. Minister of Education Dr. Hernández Carbaño gave an address regarding the importance of improving the extent and effectiveness of adult education in Venezuela for the sake of its fullest social and economic development. He expressed confidence that the policies and steps initiated at the Congress would have great influence on the development of education in Latin America and ultimately on the quality of life in the Western hemisphere.

The Congress came to a close on a note of conviviality after the conclusion of the final plenary session in which the recommendations of the five working commissions had been discussed and approved. In an atmosphere of tinkling glasses, tuxedoed waiters carrying trays loaded with tempting tidbits of all kinds, bright chandeliers, flashing bulbs, and beautifully dressed women, the participants relaxed, mingled, and got to know one another as persons. For the Americans it was one of the few times they had had to talk to one another in leisurely fashion. The next day they would be meeting once more for a few minutes at the airport as each of them boarded their plane to be carried back to piled-up in-baskets and crowded schedules.

11

THE *YANQUI* IN THE BANANA TRILOGY OF MIGUEL ANGEL ASTURIAS

H.Ned Seelye

The *yanqui* image in Guatemala reaches a new level of expression in the "banana trilogy" of Miguel Angel Asturias. Although Latin American authors have portrayed the unfavorable role of the American in their novels, they have not generally characterized the benevolent American. These two character types, with the predominance of the unfavorable one, reflect Asturias' portrayal of the duality and ambivalence of the Guatemalan attitude toward the United States. Characterizations of Americans and the various literary techniques used to portray them are apparent in *Viento fuerte* (1950), the first book of the trilogy, and are further elaborated by the author in *El papa verde* (1954) and *Los ojos de los enterrados* (1960). The plots of the three novels, all of which are preoccupied with economic imperialism as represented by the United Fruit Company, provide the various situations through which the characters are developed. The literary techniques utilized in portraying Americans include the adoption of English expressions, the coining of new terms, the repetition of specific words, changes in syntax, and the exposition by dialogue.

I

In *Viento fuerte*, the briefest and most temperate of the three novels, the reader is presented with a plot that is unusual in anti-imperialistic literature: the protagonist is Lester Mead, a multi-millionaire stockholder of the Company who, disguised as an indigent, studies the operations of the "Tropicaltanera" company in Guatemala. His findings motivate him to counteract the company's excesses, by establishing a banana co-operative with the assistance of six Guatemalan Indians. It is not discovered until the latter part of the novel that Mead is a wealthy member of the Tropicaltanera. The novel ends with a scene which indicates the significance of the title. A hurricane, or "viento fuerte," destroys the banana crop and kills Mead. The conclusion of the novel is optimistic, however, for Mead has willed his fortune to his Guatemalan partners in order that they may continue to struggle for economic independence.

The first half of the second novel, *El papa verde*, describes the beginnings of the Company previous to its machinations in *Viento fuerte*, while the second half of *El papa verde* continues the events of the first novel. Once again the protagonist is a wealthy shareholder of the Company, although this time the novel's central figure, Geo Maker Thompson, is portrayed as an exploiter of Guatemala. Geo, the future Papa Verde, falls in love with Mayarí, an Indian girl. In a symbolic episode, Mayarí drowns herself in the Río Motagua to escape from becoming a "malinche." Geo then becomes the father of an illegitimate daughter with the mother of Mayarí. Years later, the daughter has an illegitimate son by an American archeologist. This grandson of Geo is called Boby Thompson. The second half of the novel continues the story of *Viento fuerte* and relates the psychological downfall of the now-wealthy Indian inheritors and the triumph of the United Fruit Company. In *El papa verde* Asturias synthesizes his socio-political thought and brings together the episodes of the trilogy.

The third and largest of the three novels, *Los ojos de los enterrados*, introduces two Guatemalan protagonists and at the same time further develops the activities of the previous characters. The two figures, a labor organizer and a woman rural-school teacher, are dedicated to the amelioration of the workers' lot. Working together to obtain benefits for the laborers, they fall in love but unselfishly vow to achieve their goal for humanity before fulfilling their own love for one another. Along with this romance, an imminent strike affords a sense of continuity in the novel. Chronologically, this novel covers the time period of the previous works and adds several more years. At the story's conclusion, Boby has been killed, the Papa Verde dies of cancer, but the strike seems to fail. Then in the last page, the strike succeeds after all, the company concedes to the workers' demands, and the two lovers embrace.

II

Although Asturias does not seem to know intimately either Americans or their culture, he presents the reader with a view of the people and their lives which is generally accepted as accurate by Central Americans. The major characters, such as Lester Mead, Geo Maker Thompson, and Boby Thompson, reflect the varying, and sometimes conflicting, aspects of a Guatemalan view of an American.

Asturias characterizes the civilization of the United States as materialistic. Here Asturias is using a view of the U.S. which has been long held by foreign observers. The kind of materialism Asturias sees becomes apparent when the author defines the word which he feels best describes the yanqui world--"prosperity."

> "Prosperity", para mí, quiere decir prosperen los que están prósperos y los demás que se joroben. (El papa verde, p. 237)

It is this selfish, irresponsible attitude engendered by American materialism that Asturias describes at length. This materialism causes the individual American to become imperialistic, which, in turn, results in the exploitation of, in this case, Central America. In a passage not without humor, Miguel Angel Asturias expands the theme of economic imperialism. Here the author takes advantage of another widely observed phenomenon of American culture to incriminate the gum-chewing gringo.

> --Feliz está Ud., don Herbert, en el país del masca-masca...porque aquí todos lo entienden, hablan su idioma; mascan, mascan a todas horas y en todas partes. Es una forma fría de canibalismo. Los abuelos se comieron a los pieles rojas y los nietos mastican chicle, mientras economicamente devoran países, continentes.. (Ibid., p. 306)

Asturias' description of American culture partially excuses the behavior of its people. When the Indians return from a stay in the U.S. they too have been corrupted -- not so much by Americans as by materialism. It is, then, the civilization that is the primary culprit, not the individual American. That this point is made in the text of an anti-imperialistic work, suggesting a kind of sympathy for the gringo, points to the ambivalence in portrayal of the American which we have already seen, in part, through the summary of the plots.

Against this background of a materialistic, devouring civilization, emerges the gringo that confronts Guatemala. Some are good, others bad.

III

Lester Mead represents the good gringo, or "bartolito." "Bartolito" is a term coined by Asturias and derives its significance from its relationship to the goodness of Bartolomé de las Casas. Mead takes the wife away from an American company official, lives with her in the indigent social classes with which the author is sympathetic, and devotes his life to helping the Indians. He is warmly described by various characters in the text:

> ... Muero por saber cómo eran los esposos Mead. Es tan rarísimo encontrarse con gringos así, gringos que se pongan de parte de los hijos del país en cuerpo y almo.. gente de otro planeta. (El papa verde, pp. 277-278)
> ...Si no es por Lester Mead nos podrimos en la cárcel.
> -- Era gringo y, entre nosotros, gringo quiere decir poderoso...
> -- Gringo, pero de los buenos.. (Los ojos de los enterrados, p. 307)

Asturias uses the proverb "Lástima que una golondrina no haga verano" (Ibid., p. 309) to make clear that he does not believe that "bartolitos" predominate. Whereas in the first of the trilogy the reader is left with the hope that conditions might be bettered with the help of a benevolent American, in the concluding novel Asturias states that the hope engendered by Mead was "perniciosa" (p.475). Guatemalans will have to solve their problems themselves. The ambivalence which we have seen in the juxtaposition of Mead and Thompson as developed through the plot now presents itself in the makeup of an individual characterization. That is, Mead is motivated unselfishly but some of the results of his actions are pernicious. A similar phenomenon occurs in the characterization of Thompson: although motivated by imperialistic urges, he is still capable of doing good. The ambivalence, then, is contrastive both between protagonists and within the individual protagonist.

Geo Maker Thompson, although usually characterized as an insensitive businessman, at times elicits some sympathy from the author. The actions of Geo reflect his imperialistic ambitions and the idea of progress at any cost. These are developed through metaphorical expressions such as "amor-business," which suggests that the American businessman is businesslike even in his love. Another metaphor, "señor de cheque y cuchillo," suggests that illegality and violence are part of his character. Geo is also characterized vituperatively in the dialogue, as for example, with "un recien llegado cochino manco hijo de...gringa."

The most scathing reference to the character of Thompson occurs when one character in Los ojos de los enterrados asks another of Thompson's health. He is told that the Papa Verde is dying of cancer. The reply: "¡Pobre el cáncer!" (p. 402). But in spite of the generally odious portrayal of Thompson, on the eve of becoming president of the company Thompson evinces strength of character by refusing the presidency for moral reasons and retiring to private life. Unfortunately, he later re-emerges. All in all, the following passage typifies Thompson's attitude toward life.

> --Bueno, a mí no me importa que traigan o no la civilización. Lo que me interesa por el momento es que en el próximo vapor que pase para el Norte carguen mis bananos. (El papa verde. p. 42)

Boby emerges as the most repulsive of the characters, while doing relatively little. He has been brought up in Guatemala and is the illegitimate son of a Guatemalan and an American. His mother, too, was an illegitimate child of an American, and Boby, therefore, exemplifies an almost complete--yet unsuccessful--transformation of an American personality to the Guatemalan culture. The characterization of Boby reflects the dangers of the infiltration of such cultural manifestations as sports, music, attitudes toward sex, and drink. Baseball leads to a denial of tradition; jazz degenerates into carnality; sex becomes materialistic; and drinking goes on endlessly. Asturias uses various literary techniques to effectively describe cultural infiltration.

IV

Typical of Asturias' use of the parlance of jazz to uncover carnal degeneracy is this description of Boby and an anonymous woman:

> Entraron a la casita. Nadie. Ellos y la radio. ...Ella desnuda, color café dorado, acostada bajo el cuerpo lácteo de Boby, iluminados con luz de música, por la radio encendida junto a la cama, que tranqueaba como si fuera andando, bailando, saltando, al compás de los movimientos con que aquellos parecían seguir la melodía cálida, inestable, que llegaba a sus oídos con volumen de morbo a contagiarlos de su epilepsia alegre...
> --¡Crazy!... --gruñía Boby, frenético, endemoniado,

> poseído, al compás del jazz que trasmitía la radio,
> loco como un loco, bailando de rodillas, de codos,
> de boca con boca pegadas, de vientre con vientre,
> de piernas abiertas, de piernas cerradas en el
> frenesí del swing.. (Los ojos de los enterrados, p. 415)

In the last part of the above selection appear the words "trompeta," "música," "clarinetista," "saxofones," "címbalos," "batería," "contrabajo," "piano," "jazz," "percutientes." The paragraph ends with the reiterated, monotonous rhythm of: "... síncopa de síncopa, sexos-saxos, saxos-sexos, síncopa de síncopa, chocando, improvisando caricias..."

Baseball represents a threat to lo viejo conocido. The following selection exemplifies the attitude of many Guatemalans:

> Sólo lo extranjero vale, porque es extranjero.
> Antes jugaban a los toros. Uno hacía de toro.
> Otros hacían de caballo cargando a los picadores.
> Hoy no. Juegos gringos. Para mejor será, pero
> a mí no me gusta. (El papa verde, p. 137)

Although both Americans and Guatemalans drink whiskey throughout the trilogy, the results are not the same. There seems to be something more sinister in a drunk American. In a three-page description (Ibid., pp. 69-71) of a "borrachera que por poco se vuelve catastrófica," Thompson is said to drink with characteristic yanqui abandon: "todos...se sirvieron como cristianos, menos él, que se sirvió como yanqui."

The materialistic base of the American attitude toward sex can be seen through two poignant selections:

> "Digo mi amor, no ese gringo colorando que cuando pasa por aquí, toca la puerta y me grita: 'Entrégate a mí, me acaricias, te doy un auto y me voy!'" (Los ojos de los enterrados, pp. 410-411). "Deben pagarles las gringas porque se acuesten con ellas. Ese lujo del amor helado sólo ellas se lo pueden proporcionar." (El papa verde, p. 188).

Protestantism is viewed as another arm of imperialism. Agnostic Asturias takes advantage of the antipathy often existing between Catholicism and Protestantism to provoke antagonism toward the historically alien form, Protestantism.

> ...el pastor protestante oloroso a tabaco que se adelanto con la Biblia en la mano a querer convencer a sus padres que dejaran las tierras en manos de Maker Thompson. (Los ojos de los enterrados, p. 59)
> ¡Qué lindo es Dios cuando se vuelve dólar!...
> (El papa verde, p. 296)

Like other examples of cultural infiltration, Protestantism must be rejected: "...Poner en la iglesia una virgen que es india, aquí donde hasta los santos deben ser gringos canches y con ojos azules.." (*Los ojos de los enterrados*, p. 327)

Perhaps the harshest indictment of cultural infiltration occurs shortly after Boby's accidental death. Material symbols of progress and americanization clash ironically against humane sensibility:

> El cadáver de Boby ya estaba en la Gerencia encajonado. Lo habían puesto sobre un escritorio de metal, entre un teléfono, una máquina de escribir, una máquina de calcular y una maquinita de sacarle punta a los lápices.
> -- La Compañía es previsora, como toda empresa nuestra que opera en los trópicos -- dijo el gerente a don Juan que...no se atrevía a mirar el cajón de madera color márfil--y ya ve Ud. Mr. Lucero, que mantenemos en bodega un stock de féretros *made in*...
> -- Si lo único que nos falta traer el la silla eléctrica.. (*Ibid.*, p. 465)

This passage also enables us to observe several literary techniques which Asturias regularly employs. The two examples of English, "Mr." and "made in...," each illustrate Asturias' clever use of the foreign language. As with "Mr. Lucero," the use of English in the trilogy often points to the acculturation, or north-americanization, of a character. By violating syntax, as with "feretros *made in*...," Asturias jars the reader into a more acute awareness of the social significance of the passage. Other examples of effective manipulation of technique have been presented in other already quoted sections.

The repetition of certain words, such as "sexos-saxos, saxos-sexos," or "masca-masca," contribute to the idea of the futility and wide dissemination of the phenomena described. Occasionally an English word is included in the text to make the concept it denotes seem alien, as in the case of "prosperity."

V

There are three reasons why Miguel Angel Asturias' portrayal of the *yanqui* has been fruitful. The view of the *yanqui* presented by Asturias accurately reflects the view held by Latin Americans in general and Guatemalans in particular. This view of the American "reality" must certainly be considered in attempts at inter-American communication. Secondly, the expressions of these views is expert. Asturias has been successful in having his American characters reflect the general stereotype, while portraying them through the vehicle of novelistic techniques which are not commonplace. And thirdly, although the predominant picture of the American conforms to the general unflattering stereotype, the American characters emerge as ambivalent, both within themselves and in contrast to each other. They are both good and bad, helpful and destructive. The result is a trilogy of anti-imperialism which is outstanding among literature of its kind for the quality of the writing.

Compared to Asturias at his best, as in *El Señor Presidente* (1946) or *Leyendas de Guatemala* (1930), the trilogy is not as successful artistically. The gripping terror of the first of these works, and the quiet beauty of the second are both present in but diluted quantity in the anti-imperialistic series. Of the three, *Los ojos de los enterrados* is perhaps the weakest, *Viento fuerte* the strongest, and *El papa verde* the most important for an understanding of Asturias' thought, when theme as as well as literary merit is considered. From a sociological view, the ambivalence with which the *yanqui* is portrayed aids in an understanding of Guatemalan attitudes towards Americans.

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12

ARGENTINA: LATIN ENIGMA

Joseph A. Martellaro

In studying Argentina, development economists find it a challenging and interesting case study, but the scholar can also find the Argentine economy analytically perplexing and even frustrating. At the turn of the century Argentina's economy gave every indication of propelling itself into take-off.[1] Disappointingly, take-off did not occur, and since then twentieth century Argentine governments (some far more conscientiously than others) have desperately tried to stimulate an economy which, despite its promising attributes, has been generally characterized by stagnation. It is in the attempt to explain this economic dormancy of Argentina that one is provoked into a partial state of frustration.

Certainly a number of factors which obstruct Argentine development and growth are quite obvious, and a good share of these are economic in kind. But in the Argentine case, to restrict oneself to a handful of intradisciplinary factors in an analysis of the Argentine paradox is a simplistic and self-deceptive approach. Like all other nations, Argentina is a product of the past, a national anatomy fashioned by the indigenous and exogenous economic, social, and political forces and events of its history. Its Spanish heritage, the causal influences and effects of the Industrial Revolution; the nation's periodic national crises, its internal conflicts, and its social upheavals have all had their telling effects. Naturally, this brief paper is not purported to represent a thorough and comprehensive exposition of the sundry economic, political, and social factors reponsible for the stagnation of the Argentine economy.[2]

Among the Third World nations, Argentina is indeed a typical and in a number of ways (economically, politically, and socially) Argentina defies convenient categorization. Fittingly, one writer has described Argentina as a maverick among nations.[3] By our standards it is not democratic, although the nation's 1853 Constitution (still in force today) is patterned after ours. On the other hand Argentina cannot be considered a totalitarian state, although presently the nation is under military rule. Economically, Argentina is developed, and yet it is underdeveloped. Free enterprise is popular, but nationalized industries and strict control and planning from the center are conspicuously noticeable in several branches of the economy activity. Understandably, Argentines as a people and their government feel a common historic bond with their sister republics of Central and South America: yet the citizenry and the government have long possessed a profound affinity with Western Europe. And like many of its neighbors, although Argentina's Spanish heritage is deeply rooted in its society, unlike several of the other Latin nations, Argentina's severance from Spanish tradition and influence is clearly discernible.

The economic, political, and social threads which form Argentine society are tightly woven together, and they are not only -- for better or for worse -- reciprocally related and reinforcing but often they are also intertwined to an extent which makes it impossible to clearly perceive certain cause-and-effect relationships if they are viewed through mono-disciplinary binoculars. And even when he abandons his disciplinary loyalty, the scholar of Argentina is hard pressed in his search for pragmatic solutions to certain economic and social problems which heavily weigh on the nation. For clearly, selective corrective and remedial policy is usually more easily formulated and executed in those cases when the syndrome of factors responsible for socio-economic convulsions are limited in number and when the factorial interdependence is either nonexistent or minimal.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

Relative to the extent of economic "developedness," a strong case can be built if one chooses to place Argentina among the ranks of the developed economies. Certain commonly accepted criteria would so justify. As an example, per capita income is estimated at $705 for 1966.[4] Argentine per capita income not only compares favorably with other nations but it is substantially higher than the $500-600 figure accepted by many economists as the minimum to qualify for placement among the developed nations.[5] Daily caloric intake among Argentines is about 2,700 per person, one of the world's highest and not far removed from the 3,140 for the United States national.[6] Furthermore, unlike other Latin American countries, the Argentine rate of literacy is high, 80 per cent as opposed to 50 per cent for all of Latin America.

On the other hand, certain indicators justify the placement of Argentina among the underdeveloped nations. Although conspicuously lower than many other poverty areas of the world (such as Guatemala, Indonesia, Nyasaland, and Taiwan), a significant proportion of the Argentine labor force (26 per cent) remains occupied in primary production, notwithstanding past efforts by Argentine governments to effect massive industrialization. And similar to other primary material producing nations, Argentina relys heavily on exports, principally cereals and livestock as a means of earning foreign exchange. Furthermore and typical of underdeveloped countries, Argentina financially depends upon international lending institutions, foreign governments, and foreign private investors to foster and promote economic development and to relieve its domestic and international monetary problems. Also, Argentina is characterized by economic and technological dualism as are so many nations of the Third World.

An economist could escape the predicament of classifying the Argentine economy by simply referring to Argentina as a "developing" economy, but this euphemistic platitude hardly deserves a place in the modern arsenal of economic terminology. Far more appropriately, Argentina could be ranked among the least developed of the advanced economies or amidst the most developed of the underdeveloped countries.[7]

Spanish mercantilism relegated Argentina to the status of being a raw materials producing country, mainly agriculture. The conquistadores had found no ready wealth in Argentina, and as a consequence the mother country looked upon the territory with little favor. Because Mexico and Peru were the prize territorial holdings of Spain, the economies of other Spanish territories in the New World -- among them Argentina -- revolved about the Mexican-Peruvian axis. Therefore, despite the potential of Buenos Aires' natural harbor, Argentina's economic ties to the mother country were restricted to a circuitous and uneconomical route: Panama, Guayaquil, Lima, Cuzco, Potosi, and Cordoba. For commercial purposes, Buenos Aires was not permitted to serve as a port of entry and departure, nevertheless, some smuggling did take place until late in the Eighteenth Century when most of the trade restrictions were lifted by the Crown.

The early settlers who remained in Argentina, having found no ready wealth, appropriated large tracts of fertile land both as a compensation for their disappointment and in keeping with the Spanish mentality that land was a social status symbol. The sedentary Indians of the north constituted a ready supply of cheap labor for agricultural activity, and in accordance with the Crown's economic scheme for the Spanish New World, the interior of Argentina became a food arsenal for the Viceroyalty of Peru where riches were exploitable immediately.

Thus, Argentina because of its natural characteristics and because of Spain's mercantilistic ambitions was compelled to develop agriculturally, more so than might have otherwise been the case. And with the coming of the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe and North America, Argentina was integrated into the international economy as a primary commodity producing nation.[8]

Despite Argentina's early commitment to agricultural and livestock production, the nation was not lacking in opportunity to achieve a better balance in the industrial and agricultural segments of the economy. Foreign investors had long been attracted by the potential of Argentina, the British in particular. They established an early dominant foothold following their abortive attempts to invade Argentina in 1806 and 1807.[9] As a foreign investor, British supremacy prevailed until the turn of the century when other Western industrial nations, among them Germany and the United States, began to earnestly compete for investment opportunities in Argentina. Although the inflow of foreign capital did benefit Argentina immensely, we should bear in mind that the benefits derived were principally by-products of imperialistic aims.

But Argentina's first real opportunity to strike a better balance between agriculture and industry came during World War I, when goods normally imported from the warring nations became critically short in supply. As a consequence, nations established new firms and expanded old ones in order to relieve the shortage of manufactured goods at home. In addition, by maintaining neutrality throughout the war (a firm resolution of the Administration of Hipolito Irogoyen), Argentina profited lucratively by exporting hides, meats, and wheat to belligerents and nonbelligerents alike.

Unfortunately, a postwar depression during the Marcelo T. Alvear Administration (1922-28) put a hard brake on economic expansion. The unfavorable effects of the postwar depression were compounded by the 1928 Election of Hipolito Irogoyen to a second term. Aged, distrustful, and senile, Irogoyen was unable to cope with the economic and social problems facing the country. And with the onset of the Great Depression, the Argentine economy economy -- like those of other nations -- collapsed to an abysmal depth.

Another burst of promise for industrialization did not present itself until 1946 with the election of Juan D. Perón to the Presidency. One of the principal aims of the Peronist Regime was to harness the nation's resources to the task of accelerating economic growth and development, especially through the rapid industrialization of the nation. To achieve these ends, the Regime went through one Five-Year-Plan and part of a second; the dictator's forced departure from the country in 1955 brought the Second Five-Year-Plan to an early conclusion.

Perón could not have asked for more favorable circumstances to launch his economic programs of development and growth. For the second time, Argentina had avoided being drawn into a mundal conflict, and again neutrality proved profitable. Argentine exports reached new highs so that, at war's end, Argentina held $1.6 billion of gold and hard currency reserves. Moreover, with the exception of José San Martín perhaps no other Argentine leader basked in such a munificence of national popularity as did Perón. But Perón's xenophobia -- used so effectively to generate popular political support -- in no small way contributed to his economic failures. His policies of economic nationalism not only closed the door to essentially needed foreign investment but also in his eagerness to nationalize foreign capital (particularly social overhead capital), he depleted the national treasury of its gold reserves, which were used to make payments of repatriation. Two other factors which adversely effected the Regime's economic schemes are noteworthy. First, Perón's overemphasis on industrialization at high costs to the agricultural sector of the economy proved ruinous to many farmers. By almost killing the goose that laid the golden eggs, agricultural development and growth was so retarded that to this date Argentine agriculture has not fully recovered from the traumatic effects of the Peronist agricultural policies. Second, corruption and mismanagement in government along with bad luck (such as the 1950-52 droughts) did immeasurable harm to the Regime, economically and politically.

Any treatment of Argentina would not be complete without some mention of Peron's permeative socio-economic doctrine of *justicialismo* which left its mark on Argentine society. Briefly described, the philosophy of *justicialismo* mandated the promotion of social justice for Argentines through certain governmental policies. This was accomplished by a number of economic concessions to certain groups, particularly the working class. In the name of *justicialismo*, Perón was able to win the political support of labor, backing which Perón passionately sought. Minimum wages, paid holidays, sick benefits, job security, pensions for the aged and retired, and compulsory bonuses from employers were all a part and parcel to *justicialismo*, notwithstanding the inability of private enterprise and the nation to withstand the monetary costs.

Although the Regime exercised a large measure of influence over labor (Perón's wife, Eva, controlled the Ministry of Labor), labor leaders became important figures in the calculus of political power. The *Confederación General del Trabajo* (the General Confederation of Labor) -- composed of some 100 unions and a membership of almost 5,000,000 assumed political power capabilities which forced the Regime to heed its demands. Two leading trade unionists served as ministers of Perón's cabinet, Angel Borlenghi was Minister of Interior throughout most of Perón's tenure and José María Freire was Minister of Labor until 1952.

The Regime overextended itself by making excessive concessions to labor through wage increases, fringe benefits, and by allowing widespread featherbedding in a number of industries. The Administration's fiscal and monetary irresponsibility triggered an inflationary problem which was to plague all successive administrations.

The railroad purchased by Perón from British and French interests has been an exceedingly heavy burden on post-Peron governments. Since the nationalization of the railway, facilities and rolling stock have steadily deteriorated, and inefficiency and redundant employment have been the rule. In the fiscal year 1960-61, five years after Perón's departure, the railroad deficit approximated $270 million, 85 percent of Argentina's total budgetary deficit. Not until very recently, under the Administration of General Carlos Onganía, has a real effort been made by an Argentine government to remedy the deplorable featherbedding and inefficient management of the State Railway System. The operating deficit of the 1967 National Budget amounted to 96 billion pesos ($320 million), the railroad accounting for the major share of that deficit. Although the railroad deficit continues to be of great concern, the Onganía Government has made remarkable progress toward mitigating the burden placed by the railroad on the nation and its economy.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS

Much has been written about the fragmentation which exists in Argentina.[10] And justifiably so, for divisiveness can be found in all aspects of Argentine society. The fragmentation of Argentine society is attributable to a number of causes, and its roots run deep in time. Since independence was declared in 1810, the corridor walls of Argentine history have been deeply scarred by the ensuing political crises. Brought to a successful conclusion by San Martin's triumphant entry into Lima, Peru, in 1821, the Revolution had given rise to a real spirit of political unity among Argentines. But once that military victory was achieved, Argentina was again reduced to a geographic expression, a conglomeration of loosely jointed provinces whose caudillos jealously guarded their respective bailiwicks against intrusion. Thus, provincial loyalties of the populace transcended nationalism, and compounding these interprovincial animosities was the regional disparity between the interior provinces and the Province of Buenos Aires, a division in economic interests and political policies which dated back to the pre-revolutionary days. Consequently, a national government was non-existent during the third decade of the Nineteenth Century.

Although not obliterated, the internal conflicts of the nation were subordinated by the powerful dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas, who forcibly consolidated his political power during the period 1829-35. Rosas was a social product, for by exploiting the anarchy, disorder, and violence infesting the nation, he achieved his political ambitions. His clever maneuvers gained for him the title of el Restaudor, the Restorer of Law and Order. His appeals of nationalism and patriotism (often to the extent of xenophobia) coupled with his brutal tyranny perpetuated his rule for thirty years. But as repulsive as his regime may have been, the nation was coerced onto a path of unity, and with political stability came a measure of economic development.

In 1832, the powerful dictator was overthrown, and, although succeeding administrations to varying degrees maintained some type of national unity, divisiveness continued to permeate Argentine society. Contenders for political power were numerous, and their influence in shaping national policies varied according to their capabilities. The Period of Political Transformation, 1852-80, was clearly a time of political emulation for Argentina. Undergoing the process of international economic integration, the nation's leadership attempted to adopt the Nineteenth Century nationstate concept from Western Europe.[11] But the transplantation was not a complete success, for the already existing social patterns and relationships gave a number of signs of rejecting that which was foreign to the nation's social and political anatomy. Thus, those who managed the domestic and internal affairs of the country, generally members of the wealthy oligarchy performed their duties with little consciousness of and regard for the people they ostensibly represented. Little wonder that the people did not identify themselves with their leaders.

Western liberalism made itself felt early in the Spanish New World. At the twilight of the Nineteenth Century, the ideas of Denis Diderot, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire had deeply impressed Argentine intellectuals; moreover, the successful North American and French revolutions had inspired them. But Western liberalism was incongruous to the political and social structure of Argentina's Spanish heritage, and the powerful oligarchy was to perpetuate the feudalistic society for at least another century. In addition, government-economic interpenetration characterized Latin society, the citizen heavily looked to the state to accomplish those things which are political and economic. Consequently, the economic principles of laissez-faire, which especially penetrated the nation during the Nineteenth Century when the international economic integration of Argentina took place, were to be in constant conflict with the indigenous norms of Argentine society.

The tremendous influx of immigrants beginning with the tenure of Domingo F. Sarmiento in 1868 also resulted in a challenge to the conventionalism of the nation. Population in 1868 approximated 1.75 million when 26,000 immigrants entered the country. By 1875, the annual inflow had risen to 40,000, although mostly Italians and Spaniards, a significant number of British, French, Germans, Irish, and Swiss ventured to the young nation. In 1885, immigration added some 110,000 to Argentina's population of 2.7 million. Next to Spaniards, the new arrivals throughout the century were mostly Italians, and as a result somewhat better than 22 percent of Argentina's present-day population consists of individuals who are of Italian extraction.

Highly significant was the cultural impact which manifested itself in Argentine society as a result of the heterogenous influence of the various incoming ethnic groups. Although not restricted to the urban centers, the subsequent repercussions of immigration were especially felt in the large communities, where the social transformation was of such dimensions that one finds it difficult to ascertain whether the Argentine culture homologized the encroaching cultures or if the latter assimilated and in some ways supplanted the former.

Nevertheless, the social metamorphosis due to the cultural impact undoubtedly goes a long way in explaining the heretofore frustration of Argentines in their search for self-identity.

Consequently, fragmentation among Argentines is most evident relative to economic, political, and social issues. Each group possessing political capability to become a political contender strive to promote its own economic interests regardless of the costs to society-at-large. The power capability of the CGT (especially the affiliated railway union) has made it possible for unionists to accrue for themselves several special benefits despite the great national costs thereby incurred. Too often in Argentine society, power groups are willing to forego the long run promotion of the general welfare in favor of their short run gains. As one highly regarded Argentine academician said to me: "The United States: Ten people: three economic, political and social philosophies; two parties; one election: and one leader. Argentina: Ten people; ten economic, political, and social philosophies; fifteen parties; six elections; ten coups; and fourteen leaders."

WHITHER ARGENTINA?

Among the Third World nations, Argentina continues to show some promise of evolving into a vibrant, vigorous, self-sustaining economy. The rate of literacy is high, agricultural potential is great, natural resources although not abundant are adequate, a respectable light industry exists, and some heavy industry has been developed. Thus, if a development economist viewed the nation's economic resources, on that basis alone, he would probably have to admit that Argentina's development and growth potential is bright.

However, as indicated above the economic aspects are not the whole story in the Argentine case. Political instability has been a chronic malady of the nation, and without political stability, economic development and growth are hard to come by.[12] The political fragmentation among Argentines is well illustrated by the dozens of political parties in existence in recent years, and if one ignores minor parties, no less than eight significant contenders can be counted.[13] As a consequence of the ideological divisiveness (in degree and in kind), twentieth century Argentine governments, for the most part, have found their creation and survival dependent upon their ability to maintain old coalitions or shift into new ones.

Some ninety years of social revolution in one form or another (beginning with the first heavy waves of immigration up to and including the propagation of Peronismo) has confounded

Argentines in their search for self-identity. Georgraphically and in part because of common historical pasts, Argentines feel a sense of loyalty and commitment to other Latin republics. Yet because among the Latin American nations Argentina is but one of two nations which can truly be called Latin, Argentines in mentality feel a greater commitment to Western Europe.[14] Whereas Argentina should be wholeheartedly dedicated to making the LAFTA (Latin American Free Trade Association) a successful entente, its Western European mentality gravitates the nation's trade interests -- as has been the case for years -- away from the continent. Great Britian and the member nations of the European Economic Community are vital trading partners of Argentina, particularly as buyers of Argentine goods.

Thus, given the economic, political, and social divisiveness among Argentines (a product of the past), the student of Argentina cannot help but wonder what lies in store for the nation. Since the successful military coup in mid-1966 which ousted the Government of Arturo Illía, the Onganía Administration has become increasingly totalitarian in its approach to solving the nation's gamut of problems, particularly economic. And although those of us accustomed to living by democratic principles find it difficult to condone totalitarianism in any form, interested foreign observers must probably admit that the Onganía Administration has made positive contributions to the nation. The importance of political stability to achieve economic development and growth has been stressed above. Certainly, the Regime has been successful in this respect, although some may justifiably frown upon some of the means utilized by the present Administration to maintain political tranquility.

Relative to economic matters the present-day Regime has made headway with a system which has had a long history of stagnation. Although inflation will continue to demand attention in years to come, the Onganía Government, through the adoption and implementation of certain monetary and fiscal policies, has been successful in relieving the nation of the inflation which riddled the economy during the past twenty years. An encouraging sign is the International Monetary Fund's recent listing of the Argentine peso as a hard currency.

Between 1946 and 1966, foreign investors, in the light of Argentina's official policies, became disenchanted with Argentina as a land of investment opportunity. Upon taking the political helm, Onganía and his Minister of the Economy, Dr. Adalbert Kreiger Vasena, have been persistent in their wooing of potential foreign investors. Regaining the confidence of foreign investors, who had suffered bitter experiences with the Perón, Frondizi, and Illía administrations, was not easy.

But in recent months, the present Government's efforts have paid off, for British, Dutch, West German, and North American firms have made impressively large investment commitments in chemicals, electric power, and petroleum. Presently some $500 million of North American investments are pending, these are awaiting AID investment guarantees.

Of the various United States firms, Sinclair and Esso were just lately granted petroleum exploration rights, the former in the Río Atriel area and the latter in western strips of Pampa and Mendoza. The combined investment commitment of the two firms amounts to $22 million to be expended over the next decade. By lifting the restrictions placed against foreign petroleum firms, Argentina has been able to ease the petroleum shortage of recent years.

The State Railroad continues to be a financial burden to the national treasury, the government subsidy is estimated at $235 million for this year alone. Nevertheless, the deficit is a 22 percent reduction over 1967, certainly a step in the right direction. Upon seizing power in 1966, the Regime almost immediately placed "Project Railroad Cleanup" high on its list of priorities. Since then, a share of the outdated equipment has been replaced and renovated; moreover, somewhat over 10,000 redundant jobs have been eliminated. In addition, economies have been gained by rerouting certain runs and by reducing the time required for in-shop repairs by 65 percent.

In international trade, Argentina has suffered some sharp reverses over the past year, particularly because of a fall in exports, but the Government is hard at work seeking new markets abroad and broadening those which do exist. And where, heretofore, the Regime has been reluctant in dealing with the Soviet Union and some of the Eastern European countries, some probing is being done in that direction.

Despite its totalitarian aspects, the Onganía Government appears to enjoy popular approval. Assuming that it can remain at the political helm for at least an additional three years, the possibility of continued economic improvement appears promising. However, one can wonder if General Onganía can escape the political ill fate met by his predecessors. Onganía's recent dismissal of several influential military people (General Julio Alsogaray, Admiral Benigo Alvarez, and General Adolfo Teoro Alvarez), has made his position less secure, and to remain in power, he might well have to resort to additional totalitarian measures which could heap upon him a landslide of unpopularity.

What Argentina most direly needs is a decade of national respite during which time national consolidation would be attained. The Onganía Administration appears to view Argentina's problems in the following order of importance: economic, social and political. Whether it be through the present administration or some other, the economic and social problems of the nation cannot be overcome without domestic tranquility. And in the light of the nation's political divisiveness, perhaps political stability can be achieved only through firm control from the center. The third place relegated to political problems in the hierarchy of priorities may be motivated by the tyrannical ambitions of the present leadership. A more generous interpretation would allow that there is, on the part of the administration, a belief that the economic potential of the nation cannot be developed as long as political fragmentation inhibits and frustrates the orderly execution of short and long run policies considered beneficial to the nation, and this regardless of who leads the government and what the political system might be. Therefore, Onganía might well believe: Why not himself until economic and social conditions permit a return to political democracy?

Given a period of internal tranquility, perhaps Argentines might -- in their moments of deepest reflection -- be able to find the answer to three basic questions: What are we? What do we want to be? And how do we go about achieving those ends? Any kind of a consensus in the answers to the foregoing questions would undoubtedly go a long way toward bringing together the pieces of a fragmented society -- economically, politically, and socially.

FOOTNOTE REFERENCES

[1] For an elaboration of W.W. Rostow's stage theory, the reader can refer to Rostow's article "The Take-Off into Self-Sustained Gorwth," The Economic Journal, LXVI, March, 1956, p pp. 25-48.

[2] The author's forthcoming book Argentina: An Economic and Political Survey treats these matters in some detail.

[3] Arthur P. Whitaker, Argentina (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice--Hall, Inc.),p. 1.

[4] The United Nations, Statistical Yearbook (New York: Publishing Service of the United Nations, 1968), p. 577.

[5] See Benjamin Higgins, Economic Development Principles, Problems and Policies (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1968), pp. 9-10. However as stressed by Benjamin Higgings, and correctly so, per capita income as a measure of economic maturity does have certain serious limitations.

[6] Food and Agriculture Organization, Production Yearbook, (Rome: The United Nations, 1966), p. 259.

[7] Because Argentina possesses so many of the characteristics of underdevelopedness, my judgment is that Argentina should be considered one of the most developed of the Third World Countries.

[8] For a more detailed account see Aldo Ferre, translated by Marjory M. Urquidi, The Argentine Economy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 77-101.

[9] For a brief account of the British invasions see George Pendle's Argentina (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 19-25. For an excellent exposition on British nineteenth century investments in Argentina, refer to H.S. Ferns' Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1960).

[10] As examples, see A.P. Whitaker's "Argentina: A Fragmented Society," Current History, Vol. 46 (January, 1964), pp. 15-18, 51-52 and Laura Randal's "Economic Development Policies and Argentine Growth," Economic Development Evolution or Revolution? (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1964, pp. 123-142).

[11] For a good exposition on the topic, see Charles W. Anderson's Politics and Economic Change in Latin America (Princeton: D Van Nostrand Company, 1967), pp. 3-45.

[12] However, one might convincingly argue the other way around that economic development and growth are prerequisites to political stability.

[13] The present regime of Carlos Onganía has temporarily suspended party activites: for how long, it is difficult to say.

[14] The majority of Argentine and Uruguayan populations is of Italian and Spanish extraction. Non-Caucasians constitute but 3 percent of the Argentine population; some 70 percent of the people are of Italian and Spanish extraction.

13

SUGGESTIONS FOR DEVELOPING MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD NATIVE SPEAKERS OF SPANISH

Madeline A.Cooke

Life in the 1970's is so globally interdependent that international understanding is imperative. In addition to teaching the language skills, the foreign-language teacher has a valid contribution to make in developing more positive attitudes toward those who speak the language.

The task is not so easy as may first appear, since prejudice for some people is a part of their personality structure; and they will resist suggestions to change by clinging more stubbornly to their prejudiced beliefs. There is some evidence to indicate that Spanish speakers are not as highly regarded in America as German or French speakers.[1] A study by Dr. Howard Lee Nostrand suggests that Americans who live in France frequently react negatively to the French.[2] Possibly this is because they lack knowledge of the French way of life and insights into the Frenchman's attitudes and value system.

In the following pages will be found suggestions for developing more positive attitudes toward native speakers of Spanish. About half of the ideas were tried for one semester in the author's Spanish classes. Unfortunately they produced no attitude change. However, it is hoped that a continuous year-long program will effect the desired change. Many of the activities can be incorporated into the daily lesson plan. We believe that including attitude activities at least once a week will be more effective than doing an occasional big unit.

We favor an anthropological approach to the teaching of culture. Not all anthropologists agree on a definition of culture. Ours is a rather simple one: culture is everything which is learned. Therefore we try to discover what the Spanish speaker has learned. For example, whom has he learned to consider his family, whom has he learned to respect, when has he learned to eat his meals, how has he learned to organize his society, what has he learned to consider esthetically pleasing what has he learned to consider humorous, what has he learned to value?

Our desire is to build the kind of positive attitudes which will stand up under the reality of living or working with Spanish-speaking people. We have a great deal in common with Spanish speakers as fellow human beings. Nevertheless we want to make our students aware of the fact that Latin Americans will frequently think and act differently from us simply because they were reared in Latin America and not in the United States.

In teaching the language skills, we have learned that the similarities between two languages are easily learned; but the differences or points of contrast are more difficult to master, and we must therefore spend more time on them. So, too, in the teaching of culture. Customs, social organizations, and values which are similar to ours are easily accepted by our students; we must spend more time on those which are different, for they are the ones which may cause our students to react negatively to Spanish speakers.

There are two techniques for building positive attitudes which teachers have been using for years; writing to pen pals and inviting Spanish-speaking visitors to the classroom. We feel these are worthwhile activities and urge you to try them both.

Part I comprises two-thirds of the article and is devoted mainly to activities related to information about Latin America. We know that "Latin Americans" object to this phrase, and we apologize for using it. The people of each country south of the border believe that they are different from -- and superior to -- their neighbors. In the future one hopes that the information suggested here can be developed for each of the Spanish-speaking republics of America and also for Spain. Since our students are more likely to interact with Spanish speakers of this hemisphere, we have concentrated on Hispanic America.

Part II concerns information about attitudes themselves.

Part I

Discussion of Similarities and Differences

Because people so frequently react negatively to differences, we suggest starting the year with a discussion of similarities and differences. Make the students aware that the concept of differences exists not only among other cultures but even within their own school and families. Convey the idea that "difference" is a neutral concept, not one of "good vs. bad" or "superior vs. inferior." Show that the willingness to accept differences is necessary, not only for international understanding but also for our own society.

You might begin by talking about the ways in which your school is similar to other junior — or senior — high schools and how that particular class is similar to other classes in the school. On succeeding days consider these questions: How is your school different from other schools? How is that class different from other classes in the building? Ask the students, "How is your family like other families? How is your family unique?" (This latter is a question that Margaret Mead has used in beginning anthropology classes.)[3] What differences might we be unwilling to accept in our class? Why wouldn't we accept these differences?

The Family of Man

The collection of photographs entitled The Family of Man[4] can be used to relate similarities and differences in a new way. Approximately fifteen minutes of time on two successive days can be spent in looking at the photographs. Secure enough copies of the book so that the students can sit in groups of three or four. On the first day have them think about the two following questions: What was the editor's purpose in assembling this collection of pictures, and how were the pictures organized? On the following day let the students look at the pictures again for few minutes, and then attempt to answer the questions. Some groups may feel that the editor wanted to show how similar mankind is all over the world, while others will decide that he wanted to show how different man is.

With some guidance from the teacher, their conflicting viewpoints can be reconciled in the following way: all men share certain universals such as family life, work, emotions, etc., but how they express these differs from one culture to another.

The concept that the universals are expressed differently in different cultures is one which we believe may help build more positive attitudes toward people who appear different from us.

For years well-meaning teachers have taught that people are alike all over the world and imply that there is therefore no reason why we cannot all get along with one another. Yet people who must live or work with those from another culture sometimes become so acutely aware of differences that they doubt whether mankind can every work together. We believe that the concept exemplified in The Family of Man is a valid reconciliation of these two conflicting viewpoints and that it can serve as a springboard from which to investigate some of the different ways in which the universals are expressed.

Values

It is our personal belief that much of the conflict which arises when people from different cultures try to work together results from a difference in values. Try, therefore, to make your students aware of the concept of values and of the role which values can play in determining behavior.

Spend a whole class period discussing values. Start by suggesting that everyone has certain things or ideals which he values and that these values are arranged in a hierarchial order. Also comment that one's behavior is frequently influenced by what he values. As examples of a value you might point out that some students in your school value clothes, some value money, and others value friends. Ask them to suggest things which they think are valued by students at their school. Then ask them to name values which they believe are held by their parents or other adults. Write all these on the board. Then ask each student to write down a list of his own top ten values in order of their importance to him. The most obvious finding will probably be that each person's hierarchy of values is unique. A tabulation of the top three in each list may reveal some grouping, which you can report to the class the following day.

Once the students have become aware of the concept of values and have considered some American values, the next step is to examine the values held by Spanish speakers. John Gillin discusses Latin American values in a paper which can be found in Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America.[5] He cites the following values: individuality, dignidad, machismo, personalismo, acceptance of social inequality, and the idealistic or transcendental world view (the Latin American tends to place greater value on spiritual rather than on pragmatic concerns).

The state of North Carolina has published a guide for high-school French and Spanish teachers called Teaching for Cross-Cultural Understanding.[6] It contains a section on Hispanic values which follows closely the themes presented by Nostrand in an article appearing in Hispania in 1961.[7] In addition to the values which Gillin discusses, Nostrand also mentions regionalism, serenidad, beauty, leisure and work, human nature mistrusted, cultura vs. realidad, and rising expectations.

We recommend that the classroom teacher prepare a synthesis of the discussions of both these authors, duplicating enough copies so that each student can have one. Spend a portion of class time reading them over together and discussing them. If this is done early in the school year, there will be many opportunities to relate the Latin American value system to other class activities.

Reading List of Books Set in an Hispanic Culture

You may want the class to read some materials which translate values from an abstraction into a potent force which directs men's actions. Following is an annotated list of books for high school students which are set in an Hispanic culture. In sharing their reactions to these books with their classmates, it is recommended that students note differences between their own value system and that of the hero of the book, problems which are different from those which American teen-agers have to solve, or solutions which are different from North American ones. Since individual's perceptions vary, this assignment may be more fruitful if several people read the same book and share their reactions to it.

Alegria, Ciro. Broad and Alien Is the World. Translated by Harriet de Onis. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1941. About Indian serfs on a Peruvian hacienda.

Brown, Vinson. Black Treasure. Boston: Little, Brown, 1951. Dween sets out to seek hidden treasure in the Panamanian jungle but settles down to farm. Adventure and love.

Colman, Hila. The Girl from Puerto Rico. New York: Morrow, 1961. A middle-class Puerto Rican girl suddenly finds herself living in a slum in New York City. Well written.

Clark, Ann Nolan. Santiago. New York: Viking Press, 1955. A young Indian boy in Guatemala is raised as a middle-class ladino. Later he is taken back to his grandfather's Indian Village. As a teen-ager he leaves the village and makes his way along in the world.

Daly, Maureen. Twelve Around the World. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1957. Each chapter describes a teen-ager in a different country. One chapter is about Luis Hernandez of Malaga, Spain. He is dissatisfied.

Elliot, Elisabeth. No Graven Image. New York: Harper and Row, 1966. Written by the widow of a missionary killed by Quichau Indians. Not a religious book. Shows conflict of culture values in a non-Christian society. Highly recommended.

Hobart, Alice Tisdale. The Peacock Shed His Tail. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1945. A Mexican girl of the upper class married an American working in Mexico. Older girls.

Laszlo, A. My Uncle Jacinto. Translated by Isabel Quigly. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1958. One day in Madrid. An old ex-bullfighter and his seven-year-old nephew. Wit and gentle humor. Not sentimental but touches the heart.

Laverty, Maura. No More than Human. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1944. A young Irish girl goes to Spain as a governess. After a tempestuous love affair there, she returns to Ireland and a beau.

López y Fuentes, Gregorio. The Indian. Translated by Anita Brenner. New York: Fredrick Ungar Publishing Co., 1961. About the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

Mayerson, Charlotte L. (ed.) Two Blocks Apart: Juan Gonzales and Peter Quinn. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965. Based on actual conversations with a Puerto Rican boy who has migrated to New York City and a boy of Irish extraction who lives just two blocks away.

McClarren, J. K. Mexican Assignment. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1957. About young veterinarians who go to Mexico to help stamp out aftosa.

Means, Florence C. Alicia. New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1953. A Mexican American of Denver is looked down on at home but learns to appreciate her heritage during her junior year at the Universidad Nacional in Mexico.

Niggli, Josephine. Mexican Village. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1945. Ten short stories about everyday life in a Mexican village near Monterry.

________________. Step Down Elder Brother. New York: Rinehart and Co., 1948. About the problems of a Mexican family.

Rivera, José Eustacio. The Vortex. Translated by Earle K. James. New York: Putnam, 1935. About rubber gatherers in the Colombian jungle.

Steinbeck, John. *The Pearl.* New York: Viking Press, 1957. About a poor fisherman who finds a valuable pearl.

Treviño, Elizabeth Bolton. *My Heart Lies South.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1953. An American marries a Mexican and tells about how she became adjusted to the Mexican way of life.

____________. *Where the Heart Is.* New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1962. Written by the same author about twelve years later when her boys are teen-agers. Describes their middle-class life in Mexico City.

Whitney, Phyllis A. *A Long Time Coming.* New York: David McKay Co., 1954. About a self-centered eighteen-year-old mid-western girl who comes into contact with the migrants who work in her father's cannery. Prejudice and discrimination, juvenile delinquency, role of churches re social issues, hostility between various social groups, plight of migratory workers, and personality problems plus romance make an intriguing plot.

Wiley, Karla. *Assignment: Latin America: A Story of the Peace Corps.* New York: David McKay Co., 1968. The country is not named, but the girl works with women weavers.

Young, Bob and Jan. *Across the Tracks.* New York: Julian Messner, 1958. Betty Ochoa, a third-generation Mexican-American, is surprised to find that she is prejudiced against her own cultural group.

Impressions of the United States

Impressions of the United States[8] is a collection of letters based on observations written by foreign students studying at American unversities. They permit us to see ourselves as others see us. Altogether there are nine letters by Latin American students. The letters can be read out loud to the class in five to ten minutes. The book itself suggests discussion questions for each letter, and the thoughtful teacher can prepare additional ones.

Por esas Españas

A Spanish reader designed to show insight into certain Hispanic customs and attitudes is *Por esas Espanas* by Pedro Fernández.[9] It is suitable for high-school classes in the third year or late second year. The teacher who is in a position to select a new reader is advised to consider this one. Six of the stories are especially recommended.

"El estudio del elefante" is a delightful example of stereotyping and a pleasant starting point for a look at other ways of thinking. "Idilio chileno" is about Chilean dating customs. "La política del buen vecino" is a cleverly written account of the first negative impressions of a North American and a Latin American couple as they look at each other across a restaurant. "Mr. Yoni" describes how a bustling young North American engineer in Guatemala discovers the necessity for the workmen's leisurely pace. "Toda una señora" is a vignette about an elderly Spanish widow living in genteel poverty which reflects class consciousness and la dignidad de la persona. "Un raro" reveals that a foreigner who believes himself completely accepted in the host country is still considered an outsider.

Social Class

Latin Americans are much more aware of social class than are many Americans. When describing life in a Spanish-speaking country, it is important to specify the social class to which the description applies. Therefore it is recommended that the teacher spend some time developing the concept of class. There are perhaps two reasons why many American students are relatively unaware of social class. Because so many of them belong to the middle class and because the middle class is the largest in the United States and the one whose values predominate, these students assume -- and with some justification -- that most Americans live much as they do. Furthermore, the American ideal value which stresses the equality of all persons under the law and before God also tends to make them reluctant to acknowledge social class distinctions.

Social Class in the United States

Sociologists have discovered that social classes do exist in the United States. In order to move from the known to the unknown, it would therefore seem advisable to spend some time developing an awareness of social class in the United States before discussing the class concept in Latin America.

The teacher might want to begin with description of the six social classes defined by Warner: upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower.[10] For his own background the teacher may want to examine a study by Centers published in 1961.[11] Centers develops the idea that social classes are interest groups which share certain attitudes. Cleanliness, neatness, and thriftiness, for example, are American middle-class values which are not necessarily shared by members of the lower class.

Reissman's study is the most comprehensive of the three suggested here.[12] In discussing industrialization, Reissman says that industrialization opens up the ranks of the middle class, who lead a fight on two fronts: one against encroachment by other more powerful nations that threaten them.[13] This latter idea might be useful in explaining the nationalism which is evident in many Latin American countries today.

The teacher can find simple definitions and examples of status and role in Goldschmidt's Exploring the Ways of Mankind.[14] Status usually refers to one's position on a vertical scale. Ascribed status is determined by birth; achieved status is one which a person reaches through his own abilities, interests, and ambitions. Status symbols, such as the gold bracelet or expensive watch in Latin America, give public expression to status. Let the students discuss American, middle-class and even teen-age status symbols. Every status carries with it an appropriate mode of behavior. A role is not the behavior itself but the rules and expectations of how one should behave. Some examples of social position for which our American society has determined appropriate behavior are lover-sweetheart, employer-employee, doctor-patient, and teacher-student. Goldschmidt points out that a similar status in two different cultures may require quite dissimilar roles. The class might discuss what behaviors are appropriate to the roles of teacher-student in America and then, when they have a Spanish-speaking visitor, try to determine in what ways these roles are similar or different in the visitor's country. The same thing could be done with the parent-child roles. Another way of comparing dating customs, always of interest to high school students, would be to compare the lover-sweetheart roles across cultures.

Social Class in Latin America

The Latin American Tradition by Charles Wagley[15] is recommended reading for the Spanish teacher interested in understanding Latin American culture. The author is an anthropologist with much field experience in Latin America. This book is a collection of some of his essays which had appeared previously in a variety of journals. Social class is discussed in the section of Chapter II called "Social Class, not Race" (pages 50-55). In it Wagley points out that the North American is accustomed to base social distinctions on race, while the Latin American bases them on social class. Two other entire chapters are devoted to the concept of social class: Chapter I, "The Concept of Social Race in the Americans," and Chapter VII, "The Dilemma of the Latin American Middle Class." Wagley notes that middle-class Latin Americans tend to identify not with the middle class but with the aristocracy. He gives four characteristics of the middle class in Latin America: its members have white-collar occupations, but not the most lucrative or prestigeful ones; it is an overwhelmingly urban class; its members are literate; and it is a traditionalistic and nationalistic class.[16]

Erasmus in Man Takes Control has an extensive description of the middle class in Navajoa and the surrounding area in the state of Sonora in Northwestern Mexico.[17] He determined a person's social class according to the club to which he belonged. He makes frequent reference to how people in the different classes live, commenting, for example, on newcomers to the middle class who purchase refrigerators, tile their floors, and install indoor plumbing. (An unrelated but interesting section of this book is devoted to the folk beliefs pertaining to health practices of the lower classes of Quito, Ecuador.)[18]

A teacher of fourth-year classes might want to have his students read all or parts of Lewald's Buenos Aires.[19] This book attempts to give a picture of contemporary porteña society by bringing together descriptions written by many Argentinian authors. The selections are generally brief, frequently excerpts from a longer work. Four chapters relate directly to social classes: Chapters VIII to XI, entitled "La clase alta," "La clase media," "La clase obrera," and "La lucha de clases." Altogether a score of aspects of porteña life are sketched.

Poverty

We believe that many middle-class Americans have negative attitudes toward the poor. Because most Latin Americans are poor, it may therefore be necessary to alter student attitudes toward the poor before one can expect to develop more positive attitudes toward Spanish speakers. The school librarian can suggest paperbacks and other sources for readings in this area.

Culture Areas of Latin America

In order to understand Latin America today the student should be aware of the three large culture areas which are found there: Indo-America, Afro-America, and Ibero-America. Wagley first mentions these briefly on pages 14 and 15 and later describes them more fully on pages 30 to 37. Indo-America includes Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and northern Chile. Wagley includes Argentina, Uruguay, most of Chile, southern Brazil, and Paraguay in Ibero-America. The Afro-American region is found in the lowland tropical areas surrounding the Caribbean and includes the West Indies, the Guianas, a large portion of Brazil, and the lowland portions of Venezuela and Colombia.

The teacher will want to read John Gillin's study of "Mestizo America."[20] This is his term for what Wagley calls Indo-America. His paper is much more comprehensive than Wagley's. In addition to a fairly detailed description of Indo-American culture, he also discusses, though less fully, the natural resources of the area, land and agricultural problems, mining and industry, standards of living, and political, religious, and educational features.

H.Ernest Lewald, a Spanish professor at the University of Tennessee, classifies Latin American culture in the following way:[21]

Demographic Regions
  Rural
  Urban

Geographic Areas
  River Plate
  Andean
  Brazil
  Mexico
  Caribe and Central America
  Tropical

Social Classes
  Upper
  Middle
  Lower

Ethnic Groups
  Criollo
  Indian
  African

When discussing a custom or value, the teacher should point out in which culture area and social class it is found.

Historical Backgrounds

The teacher who prefers an historical orientation should become acquainted with a product of the World History project at Northwestern University. It is called Latin America and was prepared by a team of university and high school teachers under the direction of Professors Stavrianos and Blanksten.[22] This 75-page soft-cover booklet is supplemented by a volume of Readings in World History. The materials are organized on the flashback technique. The three main sections of the booklet are "Politics," "Economics," and "Culture." Each begins with an analysis of existing conditions and institutions and then flashes back in time in order to make clear how these conditions and institutions gradually evolved through the ages.

The Family

The family usually plays a stronger role in the life of a Latin American than it does in the life of an American. When the Latin American thinks of his family, he usually includes people whom the American would refer to as "relatives," i.e., grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. Latin American families frequently share the same home, buy several apartments in the same apartment house, or buy homes on the same street. Latin American families usually have daily contact, and help one another both financially and psychologically in times of crisis.

The American Family

As in the study of values and social class, it is suggested that the American family be examined first before looking at the Latin American family. The teacher might find useful the discussion presented in chapter three of O. Z. White's little book Changing Society.[23]

In the next two paragraphs are some sample questions which a teacher might prepare in order to focus on various aspects of American family life. You can think of many more. Divide the class into groups of not more than seven, allow about ten minutes for each group to discuss the question, then allow five minutes at the end of class for them to share their ideas. These discussions will probably not follow identical paths in each group.

Family roles. What is the role of the father? The mother? Has the mother's role changed in the last fifty to one hundred years? What is the role of children in today's family? Has the role changed since the family left the farm? Do you think your role as mother or father will be different from that of your parents?

Siblings. Do you feel responsibile for the actions of your siblings? Or they toward you? (Lower-class Mexicans are raised to feel responsible for one another, especially the older ones toward the younger ones.)[24] When you were little, did you play mostly with your siblings? Were you encouraged to play with the neighbor's children or schoolmates? (Mexican Americans are not.)[25] What social activities do you attend with your siblings? (In some Latin American countries, even middle- and upper-class girls are accompanied to a dance or party by an older brother or cousin. On a date she may be accompanied by a younger brother.)

The Latin American Family

Wagley in The Latin American Tradition has a description of the Latin American family on pages 55 to 58. On pages 58 to 60 he discusses the compadrazgo, a form of ceremonial kinship which plays an important role in Latin American society. On pages 69 to 75 he sets forth the roles of male and female.

After their discussions about the American family, the class can decide which aspects of Latin American life they would most like to learn about and formulate suitable questions to send in a letter to pen pals.

Before having a Spanish-speaking visitor, they can also decide which questions about the family they would like to ask.

The students may keep a diary in Spanish for one week. This can be sent to their pen pal in order to give him an idea of American family and daily life. The student will request that his pen pal do something similar. When replies have been received, the class may want to compare them to see what patterns are common to all of the Latin American countries represented. They might try to relate the differences to social, economic, age, rural-urban, or geographic factors.

The Silent Language

One can be aware of the Latin American's value system, understand the role that social class plays in his life, be familiar with his family ties and daily life, and still be puzzled, hurt, or even angered because of certain behaviors. The thesis of Hall's book, The Silent Language, is that words are not the only means of communication.[26] In our own culture we are aware that tone of voice and body posture can also convey meaning. We are perhaps unaware that our use of time and space also conveys meaning. Of interest to Spanish teachers is the fact that some of the things which we communicate silently to members of our own culture are understood differently by Latin Americans and vice versa.

In the United States, if two friends have an appointment and one is five minutes late, he hardly feels it necessary to mumble an apology. On the other hand, if he does not appear in forty-five minutes, his friend will feel highly insulted and will probably leave without waiting further. The tardy friend will certainly owe an apology. In Latin America, a forty-five minute wait corresponds to our five minute waiting period. No one feels hurt, and no apology is necessary. On pages 17 to 19 of The Silent Language, Hall describes how a United States official stormed angrily out of the office of a Latin American dignitary after waiting forty-five minutes for his appointment. He felt that both he and his office had been insulted. On pages 136 and 137 Hall discusses the time concept again.

The usual speaking distance in the United States for normal, impersonal conversation, either between friends or business associates, is four to five feet. For the Latin American it is one to two feet. We stand this close to a person, however, only when we are very angry and are shouting at him menacingly or are interested in the person romantically. When the Latin American moves in to a distance of one to two feet, we are therefore uncomfortable and take a step backward to establish the distance at which we feel comfortable. He is puzzled by our retreat, wonders what he has done to offend us, and steps forward again to reestablish the distance at which he feels comfortable. "I have observed an American backing up the entire length of a long corridor while a foreigner whom he considers pushy tries to catch up with him."[27]

Here are further Latin American references from The Silent Language. Latin American businessmen keep simultaneous appointments. The North American businessman may therefore discover that he must share his appointment with someone else. (Pages 19. 20.) At first the tourist finds that things in the foreign country look similar. If he stays long enough, he later begins to feel the differences. (Pages 43.44.) Latin Americans attach a stigma to manual labor. (Pages 48,49.) Latin American men cannot resist women. (Pages 49,50.) Catholicism is a formal part of Latin American culture. (Page 75.) The Spaniards overcame the Aztecs rather easily during the conquest because they fought to kill, whereas the Aztecs fought to take prisoners. (Pages 79,80.) The same sets may be valued differently. (Page 101.) Americans react to a bullfight differently from Latin Americans. (Page 113.) As in France, street names may change after an intersection. (Page 153.) Americans expect more of a neighbor than do the Latin Americans. (Page 156.) Standing in line violates the Latin American's sense of individuality. (Page 158.)

Examining Other Cultures

If the teacher suspects that the students are unconsciously learning that Spanish speakers are the only ones who do things differently from Americans, he may want to bring in illustrations from other cultures. Tradition and Change in Four Societies is a book of readings for high school students.[28] The four cultures are South Africa, Brazil, India, and China. There is a chapter on Chinese values and another on Indian village family life. Lowerclass urban life can be compared in descriptions of slums in Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro.

Part II

There is some evidence to indicate that prejudice may be part of the individual's personality structure and that the person who is prejudiced against one ethnic group is likely to be prejudiced against others.[29] We believe that a discussion of prejudice, stereotype, ethnocentrism, and even some information on personality formation may result in attitude change on the part of some students. The remainer of this article, therefore, will be devoted to references and suggestions for doing these things.

Prejudice

Because middle-class Americans value tolerance, students are likely to be on the defensive if the teacher announces that they are going to discuss prejudice.

The students will want to discuss prejudice themselves after seeing the film "The High Wall." It is a twenty-five minute black-and-white film which begins with the wailing of sirens. Two high school seniors are brought in to the emergency room of a hospital after attacking each other in a gang fight. One of the boys is of Polish extraction. The picture shows how the other boy had learned to hate the Poles from his parents. It is obvious that the film is about prejudice. It is also rather hard on parents, as they are represented in this film as being the sole cause for the prejudice.

Once the students get into discussion groups, they without your help will make the obvious transfer to prejudice against other ethnic groups.

If you have time for fifteen or twenty minutes of discussion but things seem to bog down after five minutes, try this: have two new members come into each group to replace two members who are assigned to other groups. Instruct the newcomers to inform their new groupmates of the ideas which they had discussed in their first groups. This introduction of "new blood" will usually stimulate further discussion.

Cultural Pluralism

Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans are among several ethnic groups which have been reluctant to assimilate into American life. You might duplicate for the class the following description of cultural pluralism and let the students react to it.

> A tremendous increase of interest in and activity on behalf of better relations between persons of different colors, creeds, and national origins has marked the past three decades in the United States. A major trend within the programs of both official and private voluntary agencies. . . is the acceptance of "cultural democracy" or "cultural pluralism," as contrasted with the formerly dominant "melting pot" approach to persons who are not included among the "WASPS" (white Anglo-Saxon Protestants). Sometimes this approach is called, by analogy, "orchestration," or "tapestration." It implies that "unity with diversity" is the ideal of the democratic citizen of the United States, that just as violins or colorful threads make their contribution to a symphony or a tapestry, so the "strangers in a strange land" need not divest themselves of their cultural heritage.[30]

Stereotype

David suggests

> instead of admonishing against stereotyping, it might be more effective to present subjects with concrete examples of stereotyping . . . and then expose or explain this tendency, cautioning against stereotyping or prejudging.[31]

"El estudio del elefante" from the previously cited Spanish reader Por esas Españas, is a delightful way to introduce the concept of stereotypes. (Serious topics need not always be dealt with soberly.)

Let the students define stereotype and discuss what harm can come from stereotyping. The teacher may want to point out that stereotypes may be either favorable or unfavorable, based on truth, or entirely unjustified. Allport in his classic study The Nature of Prejudice, defines stereotype thus:

> A stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category.[32]

We believe that in order to overcome prejudice and the effects of negative stereotypes, one should stress the idea of learning to accept people as individuals.

Ethnocentrism

O. Z. White in Changing Society has a brief discussion of ethnocentrism on pages 35 to 39. The teacher may want to read to the class the lengthy description from Ralph Linton (reprinted in White) describing how much modern Americans owe to other cultures. The letter "Pilar attends school with the teenager," found in the previously-mentioned Impressions of the United States illustrates this concept.

Personality Theory

A study by Katz, Sarnoff, and McClintock showed that more attitude change toward Negroes occurred utilizing materials designed to give insight into the mechanisms and motivations of an ego-defensive nature that could be the cause of prejudice.[33] The materials used are not included in the description of the study. You may find that two chapters in Allport's Nature of Prejudice might serve the purpose. These are Chapter XXV, "The Prejudiced Personality," and Chapter XXVII, "The Tolerant Personality." You can present the materials in lecture form and then allow time for the students to ask questions or to discuss the ideas among themselves in groups. If you are interested in calling attention to what happens to people who are the victims of prejudice, Chapter IX, "Traits Due to Victimization," can be used.

If your school teaches psychology, the textbook used may have chapters on personality theory and/or ego-defense mechanisms which you may prefer to use rather than the Allport chapters.

Culture Shock

Foster has a good chapter on culture shock which you may want to read to your classes.[34] Two chapters in a book entitled Assignment: Overseas[35] highlight some of the problems likely to befall Americans abroad and suggest that the key to getting along is developing cultural empathy. They are Chapter V, "Many Cultures and Our Own Witness," by Eugene A. Nida and Chapter IV, "Cultural Empathy," by Gerald Mangone. Mangone has been associated with the Maxwell Graduate School at Syracuse University, which has been studying the problem of educating and training Americans for overseas service. He is co-author of The Overseas Americans.[36] Teachers will find many ideas and illustrations which they may want to share with their classes in Chapters III, "Culture Shock," and X, "Cultural Empathy."

Role Playing

Several studies indicate that attitude change frequently occurs after someone has done role playing. The change does not occur, of course, if the person plays a role supporting his original position; but it may occur if he plays a role contrary to his own beliefs.

Here are some simple devices which you might try in order to encourage your students to act out things in front of the class. They might act out how two friends in Mexico greet each other using the handshake or abrazo. You could bring in paper plates, knife and fork, and some bread. Have the students pretend that the bread is a slice of meat and try to eat it holding their knife and fork Latin American (European) style. Students would probably enjoy acting out a conversation between a Latin American and a North American, with the North American retreating and the Latin American advancing to reestablish a comfortable speaking distance. Middle-class Argentinians think it strange that the American rejoinder to a compliment is always "thank you." They do not normally say "thank you" but instead make some pertinent comment. For example, if someone admires a dress, the wearer might say, "I just got it," or "I've been looking for a long time for something this color." Try having pairs of students compliment one another and making some rejoinder other than "thank you." This is not easy!

Another type of role playing is for the students to act out some situation. You might read them a story, stopping before the end. As a class, let them discuss possible endings. Then assign parts and let them act out different endings.

A third way to introduce role playing is to suggest a problem or a situation and let the students act it out. Let the participants have five minutes to coordinate their roles. For example, what would happen if a member of the class invited a Mexican to his home? Three possibilities suggest themselves. Have the students act out what would happen when the parents were told of the forthcoming visit, have them act out what happened when the Mexican was at the house, or have them act out what happened after the Mexican left.

Conclusion

A great many kinds of activities have been suggested, such as readings, lecture, group discussion, and role playing. Because individual students react differently to different classroom activities, we assume that techniques for improving attitudes will not be equally effective with all students. For this reason we have recommended such a variety of approaches.

A factor which may affect attitude change in the classroom is the manner in which the teacher relates to the students. If a teacher does not show respect for his own students as individuals, he can hardly expect them to learn to respect Spanish speakers as individuals.

We suggest that discussions relating to attitudes should be fairly non-directive with as many of the ideas as possible coming from the students themselves. The easiest thing in the world is to "tell" the students how they should think or act. Teachers and preachers have been deluding themselves for years that this is the way to make people better. High school students, in fact, already know that they are supposed to think positively toward native speakers of Spanish.[37] We hope that the techniques suggested here will help them internalize these positive attitudes.

Footnotes

[1] Madeline A. Cooke, "A Study of the Development of Positive Attitudes Toward Native Speakers of Spanish," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, College of Education, The Ohio State University, 1969), p. 14.

[2] Howard Lee Nostrand, Experiment in Determining Cultural Content: Pretesting the Questionnaire, "How Americans See the French, (Department of Romance Languages and Literative, University of Washington, July, 1964), p. 16. (Mimeographed.)

[3] Margaret Mead, "Culture in Foreign Language Teaching: the Anthropologist's Point of View," Report on a Conference on the Meaning and Role of Culture in Foreign Language Teaching, Institute of Language and Linguistics, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University (Georgetown: March 10 and 11, 1961), p. 9.

[4] Edward Steichen (ed.), The Family of Man (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955).

[5] John Gillen, "Ethos Components in Modern Latin American Culture," "Contemporary Culture and Societies of Latin America, ed. Dwight B. Heath and Richard N. Adams (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 503-517.

[6] Tora Tuve Ladu, Teaching for Cross Cultural Understanding, (Foreign Language Curriculum Series Publication No. 414; Raleigh, North Carolina: State Department of Public Instruction, 1968).

[7] Howard Lee Nostrand, "Literature, Area Study, and Hispanic Culture," Hispania, XLIV (September, 1961), pp. 465-472.

[8] Sophie Smith Hollander (ed.), Impressions of the United States, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1964).

[9] Pedro Villa Fernandez, Por esas Españas (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1963).

[10] Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960), pp. 11-15.

[11] Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes: a Study of Class Consciousness, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961).

[12] Leonard Reissman, Class in American Society, (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1959).

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 390-393.

[14] Walter Goldschmidt, *Exploring the Ways of Mankind*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), pp. 316-321.

[15] Charles Wagley, *The Latin American Tradition*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968).

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 198,199.

[17] Charles J. Erasmus, *Man Takes Control*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961), pp. 194-208.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 38-53; 336-338.

[19] H. Ernest Lewald, *Buenos Aires* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968).

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14

PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY OF LANGUAGE LEARNING

Ruth M.Tinzmann

A. MATURITY FACTORS

Aware now that there is no reason to delay language instruction until Grade 9, and convinced of the advantage of starting earlier, administrators in American schools nevertheless find there is no reliable policy. Instead, there is a bewildering diversity of opinion and program. Introductory modern language instruction can be found from kindergarten through college, depending upon the local school system. A concise statement underlying this flexible and experimental approach was made by Jerome Bruner at a 1960 conference of psychologists and educators when he stated: "We begin with the hypothesis that any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development." (1)

For a number of years, psychologists cautiously recommended that the rate of instruction be equated with stages of maturation. Studies of neural processes indicated that growth patterns could not be hastened. It was postulated that a child pushed to exceed beyond the expectations of his mental age was doomed to failure, emotional blocks, and lack of motivation. Actually, these studies were sound. It is true that a failing child can suffer emotional difficulties. Mental development is indeed sequential and orderly, as studies by Piaget have shown.(2)

On the other hand, although maturational factors and psychomotor skills are biologically timed, there also is evidence that one should not wait too long. It is known now, for instance, that neural maturation is almost complete by school age, with about ninety-five percent of the total myelenated neuro-fibers functioning by age six. Moreover, further evidence suggests that experience is essential to promote and direct that development. According to studies by Hebb and Sperry (and confirmed by others), a varied and rich environment has a measurable effect on neural and perceptual maturation.(3) To quote Hebb: "Perceptual development depends essentially on exposure to the patterned stimulation of the early environment. It is rare that an adult learns a language so well that he can pass in every respect as a native... One's 'ear' for the rhythms and nuances of speech must be acquired early."(4)

The eminent neurosurgeon, William Penfield, has declared that as the brain ages it becomes anatomically inflexible and relatively less responsive to original learning experiences. To quote his observation specifically: "for the purposes of learning languages, the human brain becomes progressively stiff and rigid after the age of nine."(5) Especially during the second and third years of life, the child is forming the neural connections and patterns of interconnections which enable him to pronounce speech syllables, rhythms, and structure. According to Penfield, practice that is timed early enough develops neural "circuits" that result in the coordination of sounds and structures which are unique to a given language. It is this way that the child evolves a basic program for the sounds of his own language.

As a result of findings like these, one can understand why it might be difficult for the older child (or adult) to produce new sounds. Rather, he pronounces the familiar sounds of his native language which approximate the foreign sounds. Or, as Cronbach has illustrated it, since the Hawaiian language possesses only seven consonants (h, k, l, m, n, p, and w), the native Hawaiian may have to say "Mele Kalikimaka" as his best imitation of "Merry Christmas." (6)

Thus, if Penfield is correct, the child learning a new language before the age of ten can still create new circuits in the language areas of the brain. The older person can only build on circuits that are already there. For this reason the student learning a foreign language in secondary school or college is almost certain to speak with an accent.

The educator trying to base a program on these studies is faced with certain difficulties. The research is insufficient and even somewhat contradictory, making it difficult at present to establish a language-learning theory in reference to maturation. All he really knows is that providing training too early can be wasted effort and may even establish attitudes of failure. Yet, delaying too long can bring the child past the optimum learning point in terms of flexibility and interest. This raises many questions. What efforts are justified in promoting curriculum changes? How many students should benefit from accelerated programs? Ideally, should every pre-school child be exposed to a second language? Should all language instruction begin before the age of ten? Further, is the goal of instruction perfect diction? Even Penfield does not imply that foreign language comprehension or thought processes depend upon early training.

To summarize, then, the evidence from research points to various and flexible approaches for the educator to use, depending upon his objectives. Perhaps Cronbach has best solved the dilemma by indicating that some kind of experience can be provided at any school age; that readiness is not readiness for a subject but for a certain learning experience; that methods can be adapted to the readiness of the child.(7) The problem of the educator is not to decide when a particular language subject is to be taught, but when certain types of understanding and performance can be expected, and to vary the approaches according to maturationally appropriate objectives.

B. EMOTIONAL FACTORS

It is widely accepted and understood by now that one cannot dichotomize the cognitive and affective dimensions of a student, that emotional health and academic success are vitally interdependent.

What are the problems of language learning as related to emotional factors? The incidence of emotionally disturbed children in elementary school is quite high, with estimates running from ten to twenty percent of the students. There is a sharp rise in incidence at first grade and again at eighth grade. Next in percentage of disturbed children is at the fourth grade level.(8) Thus, it might seem inadvisable to introduce the stress of learning a second language at either one of these periods, unless under unusual or controlled conditions. In a study of incidence of emotionally disturbed children by home conditions, it was discovered further that children from a foreign language background demonstrated an unusually high proportion of emotional disability.(9) This may be due to the effects of social class prejudice, however, rather than to a conflict of languages per se. In another study of fifth grade children, correlations of anxiety with learning language demonstrated that language elicited significantly higher measures of anxiety than either reading or arithmetic.(10) Controlled studies of fourth-graders indicated that the high anxiety group consistently made more errors in language performance than the low anxiety group.(11) These studies are merely representative of a large number of similar findings.

What significance are these findings to the language teacher? What are the implications? First, language deals with the very basic need to communicate. There are few frustrations more overwhelming than the inability to communicate at will. This is true even among adults. Thus, a colleague of mine who is a foreign language professor told recently of the many incidences of "nervous breakdowns" and crying spells every summer at intensive-learning foreign language institutes where no English is permitted. Many cannot "take it" and quit. This is among highly motivated and presumably emotionally mature adults. Need we point out that similar (if lesser) frustrations may arise also in the classroom? The problem of how to keep motivation at a high level becomes a real challenge. Children who lose interest make it a game to buck the language curriculum. It becomes a mark of sophistication to fail, and the hero of the hour is the one who somehow beat the system by being permanently banned from class. In the cause of martyrdom (for freedom from foreign language instruction), failing may well bring some satisfaction.

Second, foreign language is a specialized symbolic learning. Because of less ability to deal with symbols in general, the child of low ability may suffer relatively severe adjustment problems and be afraid to attempt new language skills. New words need to be related as directly as possible to concrete objects and behavior. As in the normal sequence of learning our own language, nouns and verbs can usually be learned first because of their association with concrete objects and demonstrable action.

Likewise, the child who is too young and mentally immature to master formal rules of grammar may be overcome by anxiety. According to studies by Piaget, formal rules of logic cannot be mastered adequately before the ages of eleven or twelve, and even then only in a rudimentary fashion. Evidently, to avoid emotional blocks, formal grammatical instruction should be delayed.

It would seem obvious therefore that the teacher should not deliberately create frustrations or arouse anxiety, because language-learning situations are anxiety-producing in themselves. If the classroom is a nurturing environment, the student recognizes that the teacher essentially is helpful, that he wants him to learn, and is not just negatively critical. On the other hand, if the teacher often disapproves, or especially if he encourages class members to be highly critical of one another, the frustrated student achieves negative rather than positive results.(12)

What can be done? What applications can be made? We have seen that children bring their emotional problems to the schools where, faced with new demands, the problems may become aggravated. As a result, therefore, and generally speaking, language-learning is most effective in a classroom climate that is non-threatening. The most stimulating and successful teacher is the one who demonstrates high enthusiasm for his or her subject matter. Enthusiasm creates a warm emotional climate conducive to learning language. It is demonstrated by the teacher who is able to sing songs, play games, and have fun in the classroom, as well as to present serious drill. It is further demonstrated by the teacher who is able to point out the social values as well as the academic competence that may be attained through language study.

Ideally, the teacher should have at his or her disposal the facilities and resources to set up a large variety of learning activities and approaches; these would vary, naturally, with the age level and ability of the class. They should be so arranged and manipulated that every child can experience some success and sense of worth from achievement.

One of the basic needs postulated by psychologists is the need for achievement, as stated by H.A. Murray,(13) or the need for competence, as explained by R.W. White.(14) Controlled studies have demonstrated repeatedly that a child's level of aspiration rises with achievement.(15) As we probably have all discovered, repeated failures produce undesirable emotional effects. This does not mean, of course, that immediate and consistent success is necessary. Even though a student experiences failure on his first try, he will continue if he has some confidence that he can be successful and if trying is worthwhile. The point is that "the child learns that he can find help when he fails and that he is accepted and trusted even when he fails, if he keeps trying," according to Klausmeier and Goodwin.(16)

In summary, the effective teacher may alleviate emotional problems (a) by creating a non-threatening climate of acceptance and support in the classroom and (b) by deliberate efforts to help students experience successful performance.

C. AUDIO-LINGUAL FACTORS

As we know, a native language is acquired in stages. First is the listening period and then the speaking, with the third and fourth stages being concerned with reading and writing. Instruction is most difficult when the goal relates to stages one and two: developing audio-lingual skills.

Instruction of audio-lingual skills demands constant listening, observation, and direction, from the first attempt at pronunciation. Normally, a child learning his native language is guided day in and day out by many language teachers, specifically the members of his own family. In school, the teacher is handicapped by the short amount of time allotted daily to listening and correcting oral utterances, particularly when there are many students in the classroom. Nevertheless, the student desperately needs this personal supervision if he is to make the new sounds correctly, and if he hopes to understand and be understood.

Each language has its distinctive sound patterns, sometimes not mastered even by the teacher. The language student must learn first to recognize them acoustically and then to form them physically, as well as to interpret correctly the varied inflection. The traditional approach has failed to teach the majority of students these sound patterns. Yet normal children certainly are able to learn them, for when they are exposed to a second language in different cultures, they learn rapidly and easily. Where then do we break down?

We have already spoken about maturity and emotional factors. The problem of motivation also is exceedingly important and is closely related to emotion. In our country, a person is not strongly motivated to use a foreign language. Most students look upon language class only as another requirement for graduation. Unless the teacher can point out the social usefulness of a language, there is no immediate answer to the problem of motivation except to apply to a student's need for achievement or competence, as mentioned previously, or to his capacity for sheer enjoyment. It may be that he wishes to emulate an admired model, and that all of these needs may be focused in imitative action.

However, one approach remains to be fully explored, and that is the electronic language laboratory. Ideally, the language lab provides for individual practice and supervision of audio-lingual skills at the student's own rate of progress. The famous psychologist, B. F. Skinner, is generally credited with the current interest in the use of teaching machines and programmed instruction. Among his basic presuppositions we can look at three briefly and relate them to audio-lingual factors of learning.(17) (a) First, a satisfying consequence, or reinforcement, immediately following a response aids in acquisition of that response. (In Experimental Psychology, this is operant conditioning). The teacher with even a small class of students cannot possibly reinforce each student's responses adequately, says Skinner, and therefore many pupils do not learn efficiently. In fact, he points out, many students make errors which are not corrected until long after the wrong pattern has already been habituated. (b) Second, reinforcements must continue after initial acquisition of a given response. The periodic review of material in traditional school situations is often haphazard and ineffective, whereas Skinner would make an exact science of the proper number and spacing of continued reinforcements. (In Experimental Psychology, this is referred to as schedules of reinforcement.) (c) Third, there has been too much use of punishment and competition in order to get students to learn, says Skinner, resulting in emotional blocks and anxiety. He believes the teaching machine can eliminate this threat, as the pupil progresses at his own pace and competes against his own record.

Language laboratory equipment includes electronic components for listening, speaking, and recording, with proper repetition, correction, and reinforcement. The critical element, of course, is with the programs that contain the instructional materials. A potential problem is pupil boredom that may result from what Stake refers to as the program's "unceasing, impersonal, robot-like progression of minutiae."(18) Still another problem is that since the programs are set up for the purpose of mastering specific data, there is little or no room for creative expression. So far, therefore, the effectiveness of language laboratories is open to question. (Some of my students at North Park College have expressed strongly their disillusionment with this media.) The matter still needs considerable experimental evaluation, although most educational psychologists seem to recommend their use on a supplementary basis.

The final point that needs to be made in reference to audio-lingual skills is that no one knows yet exactly how the audio-lingual components of a language are acquired, in terms of learning principles. Thus, language is acquired by identification with a model and imitation, but not totally. It is acquired by conditioning principles, especially operant reinforcement, but not totally. Trial and error, and discovery learning, are involved, but only to a degree. None of the learning theories accounts for the way a two- or three-year-old-child suddenly strings together the appropriate words and serves up an original sentence. He has progressed somehow from phonemes to morphemes to syntax, from letters to syllables to complete sentence structure. Yet it is impossible that he has heard, retained, and fed back every sentence he states, precisely the way he states it, purely from imitation. It is equally improbable that each and every sound, and combination of sounds, was individually reinforced by operant conditioning, or discovered by the laborious approach of trial and error. Once psychologists discover the mysterious and wonderful processes involved in language learning, perhaps we will be able to unlock the secret to perfecting audio-lingual skills.

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15

AN EXPLANATION OF THREE "LEVELS" OF COMPETENCE FOR SPANISH CLASSES

Pat Castle
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INTRODUCTION

The confusion which has resulted in Illinois from the lack of sound articulation in foreign language programs made obvious the need for more meaningful dialogue among foreign language teachers at all levels of learning. For this reason the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction sponsored a two-day meeting at Bloomington, in April 1969, which was called "A Conference for the Improvement of Foreign Language Articulation."

This meeting attempted to resolve many questions that have been raised by Illinois teachers concerning the difference between a "level" of learning and a "year" of learning. The solution to this problem is of the utmost importance if well-articulated programs are to be developed. Classroom teachers agree that it is often unrealistic to expect students to master the skills of one "level" in one academic year because of the tremendous variations in materials used, teacher competency and methodology, class size, length of period, and student abilities. Foreign language supervisors in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction concur with the classroom teachers that only by defining language learning in terms of levels, which will remain constant regardless of the length of time required for a student to achieve proficiency, can sound articulation be achieved. The Bloomington Conference became an actuality because this office wanted an explanation of levels which would reflect not only the opinions of State Foreign Language Supervisors but also the professional viewpoints of a statewide group of high school teachers and college professors. The representatives chosen to attend this meeting were a cross section of teachers using many different texts, various kinds of electronic teaching aids, and methodologies from the most traditional to the most audio-lingual. All grades from junior high through beginning college, in both large and small schools from all geographical areas of Illinois, were represented. (See Appendix for list of participants and their addresses.)

The task of these teachers was to discuss and agree upon what should be the basic elements in each "level" of learning. They stressed the fact that most students will need a three-year sequence in high school to complete the requirements for the first two levels. Classroom teachers must explain this to their students and also assume the responsibility of discussing this matter with administrators and counselors. Those responsible for student programs in the secondary schools should clearly understand that students who have not successfully completed two foreign language "levels" of learning will be severely handicapped in their first college course. (Students who complete only two "years" in high school will receive credit toward graduation, of course, but they should be warned that they will usually lack many of the necessary skills that are needed in Level III courses in college.)

EXPLANATION

In reading the explanation of "levels" on the pages which follow, it is important to remember these points:

1. The purpose of the Bloomington Conference was not to write a detailed curriculum guide for French, Spanish, and German. Participants were primarily interested in preparing a concise statement which would indicate the language skills and attitudes that should be expected of students at the first three levels.

2. It was generally agreed that the text being used is realistically the teacher's curriculum guide. Because some materials, however, are far more inclusive than others, participants felt that a list of essential grammar items should be included in the Appendix for each language discussed.

3. The question of preferable teaching methodologies was not a part of the discussion or recommendations of the Bloomington Conference. Participants did emphasize, however, that all foreign language

instruction should follow through the basic skills--listening, speaking, reading, and writing--in order to culminate in speaking proficiency, cultural empathy, and literary appreciation.

4. It was emphasized at the conference that students should have a practical knowledge of all basic grammar by the end of Level II. Although grammar does play an intensive role in Level III, it should be taught in the form of review with expansion and refinement of basic concepts previously studied.

5. The conference decided that the work in Level III (primarily reading and review grammar) is, in most cases, of the same complexity as that required in the first year of college work for students who have completed two "levels" (usually three years) in high school. Secondary schools which have well-articulated sequential courses will undoubtedly offer the equivalent of Level III work to their advanced students.

6. Participants delegated to the Foreign Language Supervisors in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction the task of editing and distributing the recommendations of the conference to all schools in Illinois. Inasmuch as the basic premises which were formulated for each language, as well as the desired student performance at the completion of each level, were so similar, a composite from these ideas has been used for each level in French, German, and Spanish. A separate appendix is included in this chapter for Spanish.

LEVEL I

Basic Premises:

1. Development of oral comprehension and speaking skills are the major goals of instruction in Level I.
2. Introduction of grammatical concepts is an essential feature of Level I programs.
3. Instruction in the appreciation of the culture is an integral part of the regular class and extracurricular activities.

Desired Student Performance at Completion of Level I

LISTENING: Comprehend the language spoken at normal classroom speed, within the range of vocabulary and constructions found in the more generally used Level I textbooks; this also includes recognition of cognates and the use of gestures.

SPEAKING: Reproduce meaningful utterances with reasonably correct pronunciation, intonation, and rhythm that demonstrate control of the whole sound system.

1. Form and answer questions relating to familiar subject matter.
2. Participate in a directed dialogue with acceptable accuracy and speed.
3. Relate facts about a familiar object or situation.
4. Attempt conversation, using language acceptable to a native, about previously studied topics.

READING:

1. Relate the sounds of the language to the printed word by reading that material which has previously been learned orally.
2. Comprehend, while reading silently without translation, the basic reading materials of the text.
3. Read aloud a familiar text.
4. Read additional material whose meaning can be derived through inference.

WRITING: Reproduce accurately, spelling and punctuating correctly, in limited, guided writing the spoken vocabulary in the following ways:

1. Write familiar sentences from dictation.
2. Formulate questions and answers about previously learned material.
3. Answer questions which would form narrative.
4. Supply the dialogue of one person in a conversation.
5. Write statements about a stimulus (i.e., a visual aid).
6. Rewrite a simple familiar narrative, making simple changes in tense.
7. Do written exercises that involve simple manipulation of number, gender, word order, tense, replacement, negation, interrogation, command, comparison, and possession.

GRAMMAR: Although additional grammar may be introduced in order to preview work which will be studied in the succeeding levels, emphasis should be placed upon attaining usable control of the basic grammatical principles. (See Appendix)

CULTURE: NOTE:
In the first years of study the acquisition of the basic linguistic skills is in itself an important cultural goal. It is essential to remember that language is the most complete expression of the culture of any people. In addition, the student must learn to identify the needs, desires, and aspirations that are common to all mankind while also becoming aware of how people are uniquely different.

1. Demonstrate knowledge of the cultural connotations of the language within his structural control, as well as the accompanying gestures and expressions.
2. Show an awareness of the social conventions which regulate the what and how of communication in the foreign culture.

3. Have an initial acquaintance with the manners, foods, clothing, customs, and family life unique to the country being studied, as derived from the text, audio-visual aids, and outside readings in English.
4. Reflect attitudes which show a human understanding and respect for a society uniquely different, and yet similar, to his own.
5. Know some folklore as well as a few anecdotes and proverbs.
6. Demonstrate as a result of class discussions and club activities an introductory knowledge of the music, dance, art, geography, and history of the country.

LEVEL II

Basic Premises:

1. Continued development of oral comprehension and accurate control of the sound system when speaking are major goals in Level II.
2. A practical knowledge of all basic grammar is essential by the end of Level II.
3. A firsthand knowledge of brief examples of cultural and of contemporary writing is an integral part of the reading of Level II.
4. An awareness in written and oral work of the similarities and differences of each culture, and the continued development of empathy with the value systems of the foreign society are major goals in all Level II courses.

Desired Student Performance at Completion of Level II

LISTENING:

1. Relate sound to symbol, recognize phonetic items in speech, and easily understand the spoken alphabet when used in spelling activities.
2. Recognize the correct sounds and sound combinations of the language.
3. Recognize all of the basic syntactic patterns of speech.
4. Comprehend an educated native speaking at normal classroom speed on a topic concerning everyday situations in the contemporary culture of the country.

SPEAKING: Develop an active vocabulary of approximately 1000 words and easily produce in oral speech the verb tenses and moods of the commonly used verbs.

1. Reproduce all sounds of the speech system in such a way as to be recognized by a native speaker and distinguish clearly those sounds where an error can distort meaning.
2. Use correctly all basic sentence patterns.

3. Initiate simple questions, and answer in complete sentences questions asked by other students, the teacher, or the text.
4. Participate in an impromptu dialogue using ten statements from material or topics previously studied and make appropriate rejoinders to the comments of others.
5. Retell an anecdote of approximately 100 words or describe an everyday activity of interest to the class.
6. Converse in simple terms about the cultural and contemporary reading selections studied during this level.
7. Sightread orally material containing familiar vocabulary.

READING:

1. Read materials of a difficulty equal to that found in most standard Level II texts. This material should contain all cases, tenses, moods, and voices.
2. Develop a passive reading vocabulary of approximately 1300-1800 words, deriving meanings from context without using the dictionary until all other means have been exhausted.
3. Read simple selections in newspapers, magazines, and graded readers on travel, geography, history, and social customs, as well as biographical sketches, short stories, and poems rather than long examples of "literature."

WRITING:

1. Write from dictation text material previously examined for details of written form.
2. Display the ability to write controlled sentences using the subject, direct object, indirect object, prepositional phrases, adverbs, and subordinate clauses in correct word order. Punctuate and spell all material correctly.
3. Write summaries, under the guidance of the teacher, of selections that have been read as a group or as an individual student with teacher help.
4. Demonstrate the ability to transpose from English to the foreign language simple sentences and exercises designed to develop specific grammatical skills.

GRAMMAR: Recognize and use correctly all basic grammatical patterns. A practical knowledge of all basic grammar is essential by the end of Level II. (See Appendix)

CULTURE:

1. Appreciate how the values in the foreign culture affect family, society, economy, politics, and education in the foreign country.
2. Demonstrate empathy with the value systems of the foreign society.

3. Show in classroom discussion and extracurricular activities how these values affect family, society, politics, economy, etc.
4. Demonstrate the ability to react within authentic social conventions to common situations such as greetings, compliments, condolences, etc.
5. Express an awareness in written and oral work of the similarities and differences of each culture as these characteristics are made evident in travelogues, films, slides, speeches by foreign visitors, and Americans who have lived abroad.
6. Read independently foreign newspapers and magazines which have a vocabulary commensurate to the student's interest and level of learning.
7. Attend foreign films, plays, lectures, concerts, and art exhibits whenever possible to appreciate the artistic accomplishments of the people.
8. Identify foreign influence on U. S. and world culture.

LEVEL III

Basic Premises:

1. Continued practice in the basic skills--listening, speaking, reading, and writing--which now include study of subtle grammar concepts, is an essential feature of Level III programs.
2. Opportunities to expand individual interests are numerous in the developmental reading and individual study, which are important components of Level III programs.
3. Discussion of cultural items are all in the target language. Empathy for the way of life of the people being studied, and enthusiasm for diversity as it is encountered are important.

Desired Student Performance at Completion of Level III

LISTENING:

1. Understand all previously studied material when it is recombined.
2. Understand disconnected and sustained discourse.
3. Comprehend recordings of native voices recognizing standard speech and dialects.
4. Demonstrate the skill of auditory discrimination when listening to long and complex sentences.
5. Distinguish nuances of meaning with different stresses and intonations.
6. Demonstrate the ability to comprehend a large, passive vocabulary.

SPEAKING:

1. Use only the foreign language in the classroom.
2. Participate in spontaneous discussion of topics related to class reading, visual experiences, and extracurricular activities with appropriate questions, answers, or rejoinders.
3. Demonstrate increased skill in using the subjunctive, and complex and compound sentences.
4. Show skill in integrating and recombining syntactical units on assigned topics.
5. Display agility in using correctly numerous idiomatic structures necessary to express the "flavor" of the language.
6. Prove in an oral-taped test the ability to express, fluently, all sounds of the language using correct intonation, stress, and liaison when it applies.

READING:

1. Read unedited literary readings, short stories, plays, essays, biographies, or poetry which will serve as a preparation to later formal in-depth study of literature in Level IV.
2. Demonstrate the ability to analyze in a general way the fundamental components instrumental in developing literary appreciation.
3. Indicate ability to derive meaning from what is read by skillful use of contextual clues and judicious use of the dictionary.
4. Demonstrate the ability to read and fully comprehend a short unfamiliar selection of material equal in difficulty to the materials previously assigned to the class.
5. Show the ability to read aloud with proper intonation demonstrating awareness of meaning through intonation and stress.
6. Derive genuine enjoyment from reading experiences.

WRITING:

1. Demonstrate ability to write easily basic grammatical forms.
2. Write topical paragraphs, dialogues, and compositions, both directed and original, that are logical and relatively error-free.
3. Employ note-taking as a learning device.
4. Demonstrate a writing vocabulary suitable for composing informal and formal letters, and summaries of material read.
5. Spell and punctuate accurately.

GRAMMAR: New grammar details, representing the exceptions and subtleties of the language, must be learned by the student as these elements are encountered within the context of extensive reading and not as mere isolated manipulative skills. Students should also evaluate, review, and reinforce concepts previously learned in Levels I and II. (No Appendix included for Level III since all basic grammar items are included in Levels I and II.)

CULTURE:

1. Be cognizant of the varieties of ways in which the main themes of the culture are reflected in everyday cultural patterns.
2. Show an awareness of how age, sex, social class, and area of residence affect language use.
3. Demonstrate the ability to evaluate the authenticity of statements made regarding the foreign culture.
4. Assimilate the cultural values and contributions of the countries in which the language is spoken.
5. Develop, through reading selections that provide insights into the social, political, and economic structures of the country, a background sufficient to facilitate subsequent reading on Level IV.
6. Exhibit the ability to speak intelligently and correctly, expressing empathy for the social customs of the people, and knowledge of the history and geography of the land, of selected classical and contemporary literature, and of the present-day role of religious and political groups, ethnic minorities, and education in the social life of the country.
7. Relate the foreign culture, in oral and written work, to our own society and to other disciplines, especially the humanities.
8. Sense and begin to appreciate the great contributions of the people in literature, art, music, philosophy, religion, science, and education.
9. Have a legitimate concern for the popular culture of the people as expressed in movies, art, popular and folk music, sports and recreation, journalism, and dance.
10. Be able, in the final analysis, to imaginatively share the foreign culture as an active participant of that community.

APPENDIX
Spanish-Level I

Suggested Basic Grammatical Items:

1. Verbs
    a. Infinitives and participles
    b. Tenses
        1. Present (regular, common irregular, common stem changing, and commands)
        2. Preterite
        3. Imperfect
        4. Future (also ir a)
        5. Present Progressive
        6. Present Perfect
        7. Conditional
    c. Negation
2. Articles
    a. Definite
    b. Indefinite
3. Adjectives
    a. Number
    b. Gender
    c. Position
    d. Common irregulars
    e. Demonstrative
    f. Possessive
    g. Interrogative
    h. Comparison
4. Adverbs
    a. Position
    b. Formation
    c. Common irregulars
5. Pronouns
    a. Subject
    b. Object
    c. Interrogative
    d. Reflexive
    e. Possessive
    f. Relative
6. Prepositions
7. Personal a
8. Numbers
    a. Cardinal
    b. Ordinal
9. Conjunctions
10. Common interjections
11. Common idiomatic expressions
12. Ser and estar
13. Gustar and other impersonal verbs
14. Special high frequency vocabulary that may not be included in the text: articles of clothing, parts of body, nature, colors, time, dates, numbers, etc.

APPENDIX
Spanish-Level II

Suggested Basic Grammatical Items:

1. Word order - basic sentence patterns and alteration of pattern for questions, etc.
2. Verbs (regular, irregular, radical changing, reflexive, etc.)
    a. Present
    b. Imperfect
    c. Preterite
    d. Future
    e. Conditional
    f. Present Subjunctive
    g. Imperfect Subjunctive
    h. Present Perfect
    i. Pluperfect
    j. Progressive
3. Attain control of person, number, voice, tense, and mood.
4. Pronouns
5. Articles
6. Adjectives
7. Adverbs
8. Prepositions
9. Structural Patterns
    a. Negatives (concept of double negative)
    b. Yes-no questions
    c. Information questions
    d. Exclamations
    e. Comparisons (equality, inequality)
    f. Si clauses (indicative and subjunctive)
    g. Noun phrases
    h. Adverbial phrases
    i. Direct objects
    j. Indirect objects (also in a prepositional phrase)
    k. Sequence of tenses
    l. Passive voice and substitute for the passive
    m. Use of estar + past participle
    n. por and para
    o. Idioms
        1. Review first year idioms with a, en, con, and de, haber and hacer, dar and tener.
        2. Do idiom study as found in every chapter of most texts.
10. Word families: feliz, felicidad, felizmente

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TESTING UNDERSTANDING OF THE FOREIGN CULTURE

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Foreign language teachers need to test their students' understanding of the foreign cultural and societal context for two purposes: to judge the achievement of each learner, and to judge the effectiveness of the instruction. For this latter purpose it is not necessary to test every learner. When the group of learners is large, a representative sampling will suffice for "quality control" of the instruction. The understanding to be tested for, however, is the same for both purposes, and it needs to be carefully defined before tests can be designed to measure the extent to which the understanding is present.

"Understanding" of a culture pattern is taken to mean a combination of *experience of* illustrative instances with *knowledge about* what is illustrated, the combination resulting in the ability *to do* something that relates to the pattern.

The capabilities that matter are neither the experience nor the knowledge of the patterns. It is not important that the learner be able either to recount experiences or to repeat generalizations. Least of all does the retention of "facts" prove that the learner has the capabilities we aim to develop.

There appear to be some nine capabilities--nine kinds of understanding, excluding mere factual retention--that are proper, significant objectives of foreign language teaching, and indeed of any other instruction, insofar as it aims to bring about understanding of a sociocultural whole. The present paper will list nine objectives, each accompanied by a few test questions. These questions have not been tried out: they are offered only to illustrate that each kind of understanding can be tested by at least one type of question found in the check list that follows. For the Spanish examples, we are indebted to Mr. H. Ned Seelye.

Check List of Techniques for Testing

(type a) Multiple choice
    (type aa) includes the question, "Is x the same as y, or different from y?" -- according to a given criterion.

    (type ab) includes true-false, which is generally to be avoided because it encourages an undesirable, simplistic attitude, and because it involves, on the examiner's part, the presenting of false statements.

    (type ac) includes options of grouping the answers listed.

    (type ad) pictorial cue. (Cues for all the types of test question can be pictorial, supplemented if necessary by spoken or written language.)

(type b) Blank to fill in
    (type ba) includes cloze procedure (test or utterance with random or systematic omission of culture-related items.) Culturally acceptable synonyms must be accepted as correct answers.
    (type bd) pictorial cue.

(type c) A statement, of length sufficient to answer the question asked.
    (type cd) pictorial cue.

(type d) Action, kinesic and/or linguistic, in a simulated situation.
    (type dd) pictorial cue.

The Kinds of Understanding to Be Tested

The types of understanding are listed here in an order of apparent difficulty, beginning with those that seem teachable at the lower age levels. An alternative order would be that of priority based on importance for the self-development of the learner (no. 4 might then come first), or importance for the traveler, or for harmony between peoples.

Mr. John Clarke of Educational Testing Service cautions the examiner to distinguish between the items that test directly for the desired behavior (type d under 1 and under 6) and the items that give more or less indirect evidence that the examinee would succeed in the real-life situation (type c under 1).

The test questions under each number are preceded by a letter indicating the type of question, following the check list above. An asterisk marks the intended correct answer.

1. The ability to react appropriately in a social situation calling for a conventionalized propriety, or for the resolution of a conflict.

(type a) Multiple-choice question calling for the correct rejoinder, e.g., A well brought-up French child of ten would greet his teacher with:

A. Ça va?
B. Allô.
C. Bonjour.
* D. Bonjour, Monsieur. (The situation and any instructions should all be given in the foreign language.)

(type c) An essay question: What is the effect of a given theme on social behavior; the arts; etc.?

(type d) An action to be performed, e.g., show me how a Frenchman expects you to shake hands. Or, illustrate points of table manners.

(type c) Conflict situation. A question calling for a brief essay:
You are encountering in x country a few citizens' hostility toward foreigners. Which of these facts can you utilize to establish some rapport? You are an American student, a Southern Baptist, your father is a member of the Ku Klux Klan, and you are writing a novel on the side. (The student is to know that in this host country students and intellectuals are respected.)

(type a) José María lleva una nueva camisa y un mexicano quien no le conoce muy bien le dice, "Qué camisa más bonita." El le diría:
A. "Muchas gracias, es importada."
B. "Muchas gracias, es de mi hermano."
C. "Es la tuya."
* D. "Está a sus órdenes."

(type a) La mamá de un amigo de Juan se murió anoche. Al verle a su amigo el día siguiente, Juan probablemente le diría:
A. "Qué lástima. Me caía bien."
B. "Ella era una mujer muy buena."
* C. "Mi más sentido pésame."
D. "Así es la vida."

(type a) Conflict situation. Un padre español está regañando a su hija de 22 años porque ella fue al cine con su novio a pesar de que el padre le había prohibido salir de la casa. La mamá de la señorita, para proteger a la hija, dice:
* A. "Ella no fue al cine. Yo le mandé adonde la costurera."
B. "Ella ya es de edad. Puede hacer lo que quiera."
C. "Ella es muy religiosa. Podemos confiar en su prudencia."
D. "No tengas pena. María, la hermana del novio, fue al cine con ellos."

2. The ability to describe, or to ascribe to the proper part of the population (age group, sex, social class or region), a pattern in the culture or social behavior.

(type a) Which region of France is reputed for its warm, friendly, talkative inhabitants?
A. Le Nord
* B. Le Midi
C. Le Massif Central
D. La Bretagne

(type a) Which one of the following endings to a letter would a French woman not use? "Croyez, Madame, a l'expression de
A. mes sentiments les meilleurs."
B. mes sentiments distingués."
C. mes respectueux hommages."

(type aa) Multiple-choice question asking the student to match with a given meaning one of several culture-related intonation patterns presented in a tape recording.

(type ad) Multiple-choice calling for selection of the gesture, from among several pictured, which corresponds to a given meaning.

(type a) Un señor, bien vestido, ve a un amigo suyo y le saluda, diciendo "Hola che, venite conmigo a tomar un café." Con toda probabilidad el señor es de
- A. Cuba
- B. Italia
- * C. Argentina
- D. Puerto Rico

(type a) Un señor descalzo lleva muchas tinajas sobre su espalda al mercado para venderlas. ¿A qué sector de la población pertenece este señor?
- A. obrero
- B. la clase media
- * C. indígena (indio)
- D. industrial

(type ad) It would strengthen the item to present a picture or drawing of the man in lieu of the first sentence in type a above.

3. The ability to recognize a pattern when it is illustrated. This includes the ability to select from a context the theme expressions that will be emotionally charged for a culture bearer.

(type ba) Cloze procedure: a literary text or news item (or telegram or partly legible handwriting) is presented, with blanks or scrawls replacing some words or phrases which the examinee will be able to fill in if he is familiar with the aspect of the culture or of the language that is illustrated.

(type c) An essay question, asking the student to point out the themes of the culture that he finds manifested in a given passage, or in a work or historical event he has studied.

(type ac) El profesor se puso a leer un libro con un cuchillo en la mano. ¿Para qué sirvió el cuchillo?

A. pelar un banano
* B. abrir las páginas
C. suicidarse
D. (ninguna de las arriba mencionadas)

4. The ability to "explain" a pattern, casually or by relating it functionally to other patterns; the resulting realization that each pattern makes sense only as part of a whole.

(type a) Multiple-choice: A likely reason why the French shake hands more than Americans do is:

A. They like to hold hands.
* B. They consider it courteous to pay full attention to one person at a time.
C. They are effusive, demonstrative about greeting and leave-taking.
D. They have a superstitious fear of bad luck.

(type c) An essay question: What are some main probable reasons for the age at which compulsory schooling terminates for adolescents of x country? (The expected answer would deal with the scarce economy of the nation, relative values as evidenced by national expenditures in other fields, the history and current change in attitudes toward the importance of educating the less privileged.)

(type c) An essay question: Show concisely--if true--that the French cultural value of l'art de vivre is influenced by other values in the system, considering at least (a) l'individualisme, (b) l'intellectualité, (c) le réalisme, (d) la patrie.

(type a) Si en un país determinado de Latinoamérica el gobierno prohibiera el ingreso de capital northeamericano para el desarrollo de la industria petrolera, la reacción más esperada entre el sector estudiantil sería

A. tristeza por el porvenir económico
* B. exaltación por motivos nacionalistas
C. indiferencia
D. demonstraciones contra el gobierno

5. The ability to predict how a pattern is likely to apply in a given situation.

   (type c) In the foreign society, would you expect a college acquaintance of four months to invite you to his home? Why?

   (type a) If students in France revolt, workers will tend strongly to regard them as
   A. Brothers, fellow proletarians.
   * B. Children of an alien bourgeois.
   C. A pathetic group in need of help.

   (type a) Two middle-class Frenchmen are arguing heatedly across a cafe table. They gesticulate with increasing emotion. How may you expect the tension to end?
   A. They are probably drunk and capable of any sort of violence.
   B. They are probably insulting each other's honor and will be lifelong enemies.
   * C. They will probably grow calm as they turn to another subject.

6. The ability to describe or to manifest an attitude important for making one acceptable in the foreign society, or considered by the examiner to be enlightened. (Attitude change is tested by using at a later time the same or an equivalent test.)

   (type a) The attitude test which asks 'what you think a person ought to do' in a given situation.

   (type d) A dialogue in a simulated situation, or an interview such as those devised by William Stewart, between an American and a "contrast-American": the examinee is given an objective to pursue, and the interlocutor, representing values, assumptions, and proprieties of the foreign culture, meets any violation of these with a negative reaction. (See Roger DeCrow, Cross Cultural Interaction Skills, Chicago: Clearinghouse on Adult Education, 107 Roney Lane, Syracuse, N. Y. 13210, 1969, items 39-42.) This technique, while expensive for testing just the understanding of how to behave in the culture, can be used to test the emotional capability of the student if no more economical test can be found.

(type a) En una discusión con unos estudiantes latinoamericanos, un joven northeamericano es severamente criticado por la vida en los EE.UU. Un estudiante le pregunta, "¿Porqué toleran tanto racismo los gringo?" ¿Cuál sería la mejor respuesta?

A. "Claro que tenemos problemas pero tenemos el nivel más alto de vida en el mundo."
* B. "Si, es un gran problema que se está luchando por resolver."
C. "Ley y Orden son las bases en que descansa una sociedad democrática. Además, actualmente existe poco racismo."
D. "Los latinamericanos tienen el problema del indio y del pobre."

7. The ability to evaluate the form of a statement concerning a culture pattern, e.g., to distinguish a "modal" statement, of terms of a range of behavior, from an "absolute" statement in terms of a point on the continum of possible behaviors; and to identify and criticize the standard of evidence used in preparing such a statement. At the elementary school level, this ability can take the rudimentary form of recognizing, for example, the difference between counting cases and just guessing.

(type c) True-false question with comment: 'The following generalization is based on indication of the statistical facts or the information-gathering process used. The evidence is or is not adequate basis for the statement because ...'

(type c) Multiple-choice with comment: Which form of statement is preferable? Why?

(type ac) Para poder decir que los miembros de una cultura de habla española son o tristes o felices, ¿cuál dato sería más importante?

A. la cantidad de trajes típicos coloridos
B. la calidad de literatura no trágica
C. la frecuencia de fiestas
* D. (ninguna de las arriba mencionadas)

8. The ability to describe or demonstrate defensible methods of analyzing a sociocultural whole. Where the foreign-language and social-science sequences are well co-ordinated, this educational objective may be treated as a responsibility for the social-science instruction. This includes the ability to prescribe a research procedure for developing a needed generalization.

(type c) How would you find, e.g., whether the pattern of paternal authority is changing in the Spanish middle-class family? (The expected answer would show awareness of (a) the problem of defining "authority" and "middle class," (b) the concern for an adequate sample, and (c) some plan for gathering comparable evidence as of at least two points in time.

(type a) Para poder indentificar los estudios que enfocan un aspecto de la cultura latinoamericana, ¿cuál publicación sería más útil?

A. Encyclopaedia Britannica
B. Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature
C. Latin American Review
* D. Handbook of Latin American Studies

(type ac) Los datos adquieren importancia según los intereses del investigador. La imformación de que en Guatemala 48% de la población habla español tendría interés especial para un investigador.

A. de la literatura
B. del arte
* C. del programa de alfabetización
D. (igual interés para las arriba mencionadas)

9. The ability to identify basic human purposes that make significant the understanding which is being taught. (The answers we give are often less enduring and less important than the questions we select to ask. What distinguishes the really educated person is not that he knows all the answers, but that he occupies his mind with significant questions. Intellectual curiosity should be a continuing aim of education at all ages. At the elementary school level, the teacher doubtless can only make it felt by implicit teaching that he prefers an exciting inquiry to the trivial and banal. The testing that relates to this objective may be left until a later age level.)

(type c) A question calling for a brief but premeditated statement: 'What good can it do to know the range of Mexican attitudes toward public support of secondary schools? -- What good, from the viewpoint of

A. A Mexican political leader.
B. A foreign investor in Mexican industry.
C. A person with a humanitarian concern for the underprivileged.

Concerning the problems of validating such test questions as have been suggested here, and of assuring the reliability of a set of questions, informed discussions and bibliographies will be found in Emma Marie Birkmaier, editor, The Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education, Vol. 1, Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968 (Nov. 1969). See particularly the chapters by Rebecca Valette, "Testing," pp. 343-374, and H. Ned Seelye, "Analysis and teaching of the cross-cultural context," pp. 37-81. A further contribution of Mr. Seelye, "An Objective Measure of Biculturation," appeared in Modern Language Journal, 53 (7), (November, 1969); pp. 503-514.

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